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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND,

COMPRISING

THE CIVIL HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE FIRST:

WITH

A PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMED RELIGION IN IRELAND DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

AND

AN APPENDIX CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

BY

JAMES SEATON REID, D.D. M.R.I.A.

MINISTER OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARRICKFERGUS.

Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase. For inquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers:—shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?

BOOK OF JOB.

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PREFACE.

THIS SECOND volume, compiled during the few intervals of leisure which could be gleaned from the laborious duties of the ministry, is at length presented to the public; but with considerable anxiety lest it should disappoint the expectations excited by the former one, the first edition of which has been long since exhausted.

The civil and religious history of Ulster during the eventful period embraced in this volume, I have endeavoured to illustrate with fidelity and exactness;—confining my attention exclusively to the affairs of this province, and exhibiting with the utmost care the various sources whence I derived the information which is now for the first time published. Though my researches were necessarily limited, through want both of sufficient time and of adequate pecuniary resources, I have succeeded in bringing to light many original documents connected with the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the north of Ireland, hitherto buried in obscurity; while from the invaluable treasures of the British Museum and the Advocates' Library, I have been enabled to add considerably to the history of Ulster during the Civil war and the Protectorate, and to trace, more minutely than preceding writers had done, the rise and progress of that successful resistance to the arbitrary government of James the Second, by which the REVOLUTION was consummated on the plains of Ulster.

To Sir William Betham, Knt. Foreign Secretary to the Royal Irish Academy; Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. Kilsythe; Alexander Macdonnell, Esq. Dublin Castle; the Rev. John Lee, D.D. F.R.S.E. principal clerk to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland; David Laing, Esq. Edinburgh; George Matthews, Esq. Dublin; and the Rev. William Bruce, D.D. Belfast, my acknowledgments are due for favouring me with access to unpublished papers and with other important facilities in the prosecution of my inquiries.

The superior manner in which this volume is printed, also calls for my thanks to the highly respectable gentlemen by whom it has been executed, who, like the illustrious printers of the olden time, are not less distinguished for their hereditary and well-sustained eminence in the walks of literature, than for their acknowledged superiority in the noble art which they practise.

Owing to the press of new and interesting matter, which I was unwilling to withhold and unable to condense, this volume has so far exceeded the limits I had calculated on, that I have been reluctantly compelled to close the narrative a few months earlier than I had intended, and to withdraw several documents which I had selected for publication in the Appendix. The suppressed papers I have marked in the table of contents with an asterisk.

To these volumes I purpose, 'if the Lord will,' to add a THIRD and concluding one, in which the narrative will be continued to the present time, and to which will be appended several authentic tables and other documents, exhibiting the statistics and existing position and circumstances of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

CARRICKFERGUS, *February* 28, 1837.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME SECOND.

CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1642—1644.

	Page
Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill..	1
Is placed at the head of the Ulster Irish	2
Romanists form a confederacy at Kilkenny	3
Its objects	4
They open a correspondence with Charles.....	5
Ormond secures the control of the Irish government	6
And concludes a cessation with the Romanists	ib.
Which causes great discontent in England.....	7
In Scotland	ib.
And in Ulster	8
Proceedings of the Lagan forces	ib.
Of the British regiments.....	9
And of the Scottish army	10
The latter defeat O'Neill at Loughgall.....	12
And take the earl of Antrim a second time prisoner	13
Lagan forces encounter O'Neill at Clones	16
Ulster protestants alarmed at the cessation	17
Desire the covenant to be administered to them	ib.
Opposed by Ormond and the lords justices	18
But warmly espoused by the Scottish army	19
Their distressed condition	ib.
Prepare to return to Scotland..	20
Measures taken to keep them in Ulster	21
They consent to remain	23
Supplies received	24
Provisions sent from Holland..	25
Ministers arrive from Scotland to tender the covenant.....	26
Detailed narrative of their proceedings.....	27
The covenant taken in Down..	29
In Antrim.....	30
In Derry	33
Proceedings in the city of Derry.....	34
Is taken in Donegal.....	38
And in part of Tyrone and Fermanagh.....	40
Effects produced by the covenant in Ulster.....	43

CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1644—45.

	Page
Ministers who tendered the covenant return to Scotland ..	45
Second escape of the earl of Antrim	46
His ships take Weir and Hamilton on their passage home	47
Account of their capture and imprisonment	49
Death of Mr. Weir	52
Mr. Hamilton at length liberated.....	ib.
The presbytery meet at Bangor	53
Send a third petition to the General Assembly.....	ib.
Their letter on that occasion ..	ib.
Ministers commissioned by the assembly to visit Ulster	57
Parliament places the British regiments under Monro	58
Who takes possession of Belfast	60
And marches against O'Neill..	62
Skirmishes at Tandragee and Charlemont	64
Negotiations at Oxford between the king and the Romanist commissioners.....	65
And at Uxbridge between the king and the parliamentary commissioners	67
Trial and execution of Laud...	68
The directory sanctioned by parliament	ib.
Other ecclesiastical reforms...	70
Treaty at Uxbridge broken off.	71
Charles commissions Glamorgan to conclude a private treaty with the Romanists.....	72
Ormond endeavours to conciliate the Ulster Scots	73
Their privations and murmurs .	74
Officers meet at Antrim	76
Afterwards take Sligo.....	78
Discovery of Glamorgan's private treaty	ib.
Arrival of commissioners from the parliament.....	79
They favour the presbytery ...	ib.
Diligence and fidelity of the latter.....	80
A pretended presbytery set up in the county of Antrim	82
Proceedings respecting it.....	83
Commissioners sent a fourth time to the general assembly	85

CHAPTER XII.

A. D. 1645—46.

	Page
General assembly meet in January	86
Petitions sent by commissioners from Ulster.....	87
Proceedings of assembly thereon	88
Complaint against Thornton, mayor of Derry.....	89
Assembly write to London on the subject.....	91
Procedure of the presbytery in relation to the Romanists...	93
Ordinations of Buttle and Ferguson	94
Congregations call Mr. Livingston	95

Page

Discouragements and labours of the presbytery 96
Arrival of the parliamentary commissioners 99
Complaint of the pretended presbytery in the Route 100
Commissioners support the army-presbytery 101
Opposition of Dr. Colville.... 103
English parliament favour the independents 105
Their commissioners in Ulster demand possession of Belfast 106
Charles joins the Scots 108
Ormond concludes a treaty with the Irish confederates..... 109
Opposed by the Nuncio and O'Neill 110
Monro defeated in the battle of Benburb 111

Page

Lord Montgomery taken prisoner 111
Consequences of this defeat... 113
Presbytery cautious in receiving candidates for the ministry..... 116
Send commissioners to the general assembly..... 117
Progress of ecclesiastical reform in England 119
Ordinations of Adair, Hall, Cunningham, and Shaw 123
Of Anthony Kennedy..... 126
Of Baird and Greg..... 128
Difficulties in the settlement of Ker and O'Quin..... 129
Ordinations of Peebles, Ramsay, and Gordon ..... ib.
Of Cunningham and Semple .. 130

CHAPTER XIII.

A. D. 1646—49.

Ormond blockaded in Dublin.. 131
His correspondence with the Scots in Ulster..... 132
Commissioners from the parliament arrive in Dublin.... 135
They proceed to Ulster ..... ib.
Dublin is surrendered to them . 137
Monck and Coote appointed by parliament to the chief command in Ulster..... 139
These appointments displeasing to the Scots 140
The presbytery seek the concurrence of Monck and Coote.. 143
Who countenance and encourage them..... 144
They petition for the release of lord Montgomery..... 146
Who is liberated..... 148

The Scots army in England deliver up the king and return to Scotland 150
Unconstitutional proceedings of the English army..... 151
The Scottish engagement..... 152
Opposed by the church 153
State of parties in Scotland.... ib.
Commissioners sent to Ulster to bring over the Scottish army 154
Livingston despatched by the church to oppose their removal..... 155
Several regiments join the engagement ..... ib.
The presbytery publish a declaration against it 156
Send a commissioner to the general assembly..... 157

Page
Who appoint ministers to visit Ulster ..... ib.
Monck and Coote continue to favour the presbytery 158
Monck intrigues against general Monro..... 159
Seizes Carrickfergus and Belfast, and sends Monro prisoner to London 161
The presbytery censure Sir Robert Adair for aiding Monck 162
Coleraine taken..... 164
Coote surprises Culmore and other castles..... 165
Violent proceedings of the army in England 166
Parliament purged by Pride .. 167
The Rump parliament try the king ..... ib.
Who is condemned and beheaded 168

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1649.

Parties in Ulster at the death of Charles..... 169
Political views of the presbyterians..... 170
The presbytery protest against the murder of the king..... 172
Their Representation 173
They write to Coote and Monck 180
Royalists join them..... 181
Correspondence between the presbytery and Monck..... 182
Proceedings in the Lagan 183
Negotiations between Monck and the council of the army . 185
Declaration of the army and country..... 187
Monck's queries 188
The presbytery publish their vindication 190
Presbyterians possess Ulster, with the exception of Derry . 193
Which is held by Coote ..... ib.
And besieged by the Lagan forces 194
Commencement of the siege .. 195
Carried on by Sir R. Stewart and George Monro 196
Dissensions among the besiegers 197
Case of Ker and O'Quin..... 198
They refuse to read the Representation ..... ib.
Are suspended by the presbytery..... ib.
Monro takes Coleraine 201
Belfast seized by lord Montgomery, who joins Ormond against the presbyterians.... 202
Feelings of the presbytery at his treachery 203
Their first letter to him ..... ib.
His answer..... 204
Their second letter..... 205
He takes Carrickfergus 208
And publishes his declaration . 209
The presbytery publish a counter declaration..... 210

Page
Ordinations of Maine, Richardson and others 214
Alarm of the ministers ..... ib.
Several retire to Scotland 215
Proceedings at the seige of Derry 216
Presbyterians refuse to serve under Montgomery, and abandon the siege 217
He is compelled to withdraw from Derry 218
Arrival of Cromwell in Ireland 219

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1649—53.

Cromwell takes the field..... 220
Storming of Drogheda ..... ib.
Venables sent into Ulster 221
Takes Lisburn and Belfast.... ib.
Death of Owen O'Connolly .. 222
Antrim burned by Monro 223
Carrickfergus surrendered to Venables 224
Defeat of the royalists near Lisburn..... ib.
The republican party threaten the presbytery 226
Progress of the independents.. 227
Military operations between the Irish and the republicans 230
The former defeated near Letterkenny..... 234
The latter take Charlemont and terminate the war in Ulster 235
The engagement pressed..... 236
Ministers imprisoned 238
Correspondence with Venables 239
Coote's declaration..... 244
Parliamentary commissioners.. 245
Death of major Ellis 246
Increased privations of the ministers 247
Many withdraw to Scotland .. 248
Names of those remaining in the country ..... ib.
Challenged by the independents to a public discussion..... 249
Which takes place at Antrim.. 251
Fleetwood appointed a commissioner 256
High court of justice 257
Notices of baptist and independent preachers 258
Ker and O'Quin restored to communion 263
Two ministers wait on Fleetwood and the council in Dublin 264
Papers of the ministers seized 266
They are summoned to appear at Carrickfergus 267
Are threatened to be removed out of the country ..... ib.
But dismissed with unexpected favour 268

CHAPTER XVI

A.D. 1653—60.

	Page
Cromwell dissolves the parliament	269
Plan for transporting the Scots out of Ulster	272
Cromwell proclaimed protector	276
Visit of his son Henry to Dublin	277
Its favourable effects	278
Several ministers return to their charges	279
Dissensions in the church of Scotland	281
Prevented from extending to Ulster	284
Act of Bangor	285
The presbytery subdivided	288
Increase of ministers	290
Their maintenance	291
Sir John Clotworthy interferes in their behalf	292
Endowments granted by the Irish council	293
Fleetwood recalled	296
Henry Cromwell made commander of the army	297
Rise of the quakers in Ulster	300
Proceedings of W. Edmunston	301
Livingston visits Ireland	304
H. Cromwell jealous of the presbyterians	308
They refuse to observe his public fasts	309
Two ministers wait on him in Dublin	310
The presbyterians narrowly watched	311
Instances of this vigilance	ib.
H. Cromwell appointed Lord Deputy	313
Becomes more favourable to the Scots	ib.
State of ministerial maintenance	ib.
Meeting of ministers in Dublin	315
Independents discontented	317
Death of Oliver Cromwell	318
General presbytery at Ballymena	319
Political changes in England	320
Henry Cromwell resigns	321
Presbyterians first propose to recall the king	322
Subsequent proceedings	ib.
Charles II. restored	323

CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1660—62.

	Page
Council of officers assume the government of Ireland	326
Presbyterians promote the Restoration	ib.
Convention meets in Dublin	327
Countenances the presbyterians	ib.
Afterwards favours the bishops	332
Charles II. proclaimed	333
The presbytery depute two ministers to wait on him in London	334
Their address	335
And interview with the king	336
His determination to restore prelacy	ib.
State of the church in Ulster	337

Page
New bishops appointed 339
Gentry of Ulster oppose the presbyterians ..... ib.
Proclamation against meetings of presbytery 341
Interview between the ministers and the Irish privy council.. 342
Jeremy Taylor summons the presbyterian ministers..... 344
Conference with him at Hillsborough 345
He ejects them from their churches 347
Their subsequent privations .. 348
Names of ministers deposed in Ulster 351
Notices of those who conformed 353
Page
Meeting of the Irish parliament 355
Declaration of conformity 356
Solemn league and covenant burned 357
Imprudent proceedings of some young ministers 360
Proclamation against non-conformists 364
Duke of Ormond made lord-lieutenant..... 365
The ministers send a deputation to Dublin 366
Who present a petition to Ormond..... 367
Its reception in the privy council..... 368
Ministers not molested 370

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1663—84.

Blood's plot..... 372
Unsuccessful attempt to engage the presbyterians in it..... 373
Conspirators apprehended 374
Three ministers summoned to Dublin 375
The ministers of Down and Antrim imprisoned..... 378
Scots disarmed ..... ib.
Examination of Stewart and Greg..... 379
Four of the conspirators executed 380
Ulster ministers forced to leave the kingdom..... 382
A few permitted to remain.... 384
Bishop Leslie imprisons four ministers during six years .. 386
Various attempts to procure their liberation..... 387
Gradual improvement in the condition of the church in Ulster 389
Ministers return by degrees .. 390
Causes of this favourable change ..... ib.
Lord Roberts, the lord-lieutenant, favours the presbyterians 394
A general committee established in lieu of a synod .. 396
Its first acts..... 397
Sends contributions to the Scottish exiles in Holland .. 398
Jealousy of the episcopal clergy 399
Boyle bishop of Down summons twelve ministers to his court..... 400
Sir Arthur Forbes interferes in their behalf 402
Deaths of several ministers in Down and Antrim 403

Page
Bishop Boyle prohibited by the primate from proceeding against the ministers 406
A seasonable relief to the church ib.
Contrasted with the persecutions in the sister kingdoms 407
Meeting-houses erected 408
Accident in Dublin 409
Case of David Houston 411
Rules for ordination 415
Pension granted by Charles II. 416
Fast in the Lagan..... 422
Four ministers imprisoned.... 424
Presbyterians again subjected to persecution 425

CHAPTER XIX.

A. D. 1685—90.

Accession of James II. 427
His measures with regard to Ireland 429
Proceedings of Tyrconnel 431
Declaration for liberty of conscience 434
Presbyterians unite with the episcopalians against James II..... 437
Are the first to congratulate the Prince of Orange 438
Alarm in Ulster 439
Gates of Derry shut 440
Formation of protestant associations..... 442
The synod send a deputation to William III..... 444
Unsuccessful attempt to surprise Carrickfergus 445
Tyrconnel's designs against the northern protestants 447
Disclosed by Mr. Osborne.... 448
Presbyterian ministers concur in measures of resistance .. 449
The Irish army under Hamilton enter Ulster 450
Break of Dromore 451
Proceedings in Monaghan and Armagh 453
Hamilton encamps at Ballymoney 454
Skirmish at Portglenone..... 455
Coleraine abandoned 456
And Derry blockaded 457
Commencement of the siege .. 458
Proceedings of captain Hunter in Down 460
Break of Killileagh 463
Presbyterian ministers retire to Scotland 464
List of the synod presented to the general assembly..... ib.
Progress of the siege of Derry 466
Kirk fortifies Inch 467
And at length relieves the city 470
Retreat of the Irish forces 473
Arrival of the duke of Schomberg 474
Carrickfergus besieged and taken by him 475
His army encamps at Dundalk 476
Ministers return to their charges 477
Presbyteries resume their meetings 478
Their petition to the king 479
His letter to Schomberg on their behalf 480
Favoured by William III. on his arrival in Ulster ..... ib.

CONTENTS

OF

APPENDIX TO VOLUME SECOND.

The documents marked * have been withdrawn as is explained in the Preface.

Page

*I. Act of the council and committee of estates of Scotland, 22 February 1644.

*II. Instructions from the committee of the estates of Scotland to Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers and Sir F. Hamilton, 27 February 1644.

*III. A letter from the committee of estates of Scotland to the officers of the army in Ireland, 27 February 1644.

*IV. A letter from the committee of Ayr to the officers of the army in Ireland sent with G. Blair, 5 March 1644.

*V. Articles against Robert Thornton, Mayor of Londonderry.

VI. Narrative of the liberation of Mr. James Hamilton, with notices of his subsequent life and character 481

VII. Monro's account of the surrender of Belfast to him in May 1644 485

*VIII. Letter from the Scottish army in Ireland to the general assembly in January 1645; with the proceedings of the assembly thereon.

*IX. Declaration of the Scottish army in Ireland, February 20, 1647.

*X. Instructions to the Scottish commissioners sent over to Ulster to induce the Scottish and British forces to join the engagement, May, 1648.

XI. Letter from Lieut.-Col. Wallace to the Rev. Robert Douglass, A.D. 1649 487

XII. An account of the death and dying words of Major Edmond Ellis, at Templepatrick, June, 1651 489

XIII. Names of presbyterian landholders and others proposed to be removed from Ulster into Leinster and Munster, May, 1653 . 492

Page

XIV. Names of ministers in Ireland with their salaries under the Protectorate, A.D. 1654-5 496

XV. Address to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy, from an assembly of ministers in Dublin, May, 1658 500

XVI. Mrs. Goodall's memoir of her husband's residence and imprisonment at Armagh, A.D. 1658—71 502

*XVII. Rules for the ordination of ministers. A.D. 1672.

*XVIII. Address to the lord lieutenant from the presbytery of Down; with a letter from the presbytery of Lagan to Lord Granard. A.D. 1679.

XIX. Account of the examination of certain ministers of the Lagan before the Irish privy council, and their subsequent imprisonment, A.D. 1681 506

XX. List of the presbyterian ministers in Ireland, March, 1689 . 519

HISTORY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

CHAPTER X.

Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill—Is placed at the head of the Ulster Irish—Romanists form a confederacy at Kilkenny—Its Objects—They open a correspondence with Charles—Ormond secures the control of the Irish government—And concludes a cessation with the Romanists—Which causes great discontent in England—In Scotland—And in Ulster—Proceedings of the Lagan forces—Of the British regiments—And of the Scottish army—The latter defeat O'Neill at Loughall—And take the Earl of Antrim a second time prisoner—Lagan forces encounter O'Neill at Clones—Ulster Protestants alarmed at the Cessation—Desire the Covenant to be administered to them—Opposed by Ormond and the Lords Justices—But warmly espoused by the Scottish Army—Their distressed condition—Prepare to return to Scotland—Measures taken to keep them in Ulster—They consent to remain—Supplies received—Provisions sent from Holland—Ministers arrive from Scotland to tender the Covenant—Detailed narrative of their proceedings—The Covenant taken in Down—In Antrim—In Derry—Proceedings in the city of Derry—Is taken in Donegal—And in part of Tyrone and Fermanagh—Effects produced by the Covenant in Ulster.

WHILE the sister-kingdoms were occupied in the negotiations which terminated in the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant, important changes occurred in the affairs of Ireland. The proceedings of the Scottish forces under Monro, during the summer of 1642, supported as these were by the successes of the British regiments under Sir William

and Sir Robert Stewart, already detailed, had effectually repressed the Romanist party, and reduced the insurgent leaders to the necessity of disbanding their followers, and seeking safety in flight or concealment. But the arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill at this critical conjuncture revived their hopes, and induced them to resume their arms and collect once more their scattered forces. (1)

This experienced officer, who had distinguished himself in the Spanish and Imperial service, landed at Doe Castle in the county of Donegal in the month of July 1642. Having apprised Sir Phelim of his arrival at that remote castle, the latter, with an escort of fifteen hundred men, conducted him safely by way of Ballyshannon to Charlemont, where his arrival was greeted by repeated discharges of artillery. (2) He was immediately chosen by the northern Irish to be their general, and by his judicious management speedily restored their declining cause. He had no sooner taken the command than he expressed his abhorrence of the barbarous manner in which his kinsman, Sir Phelim, had conducted the war; and deplored the disgrace which his brutal massacres had brought upon the name and the religion of the Irish. To mark his detestation the more clearly, he burned the houses of the more notorious of those murderers; and boldly avowed he would rather join the English than permit the wanton cruelties which had been perpetrated to pass unpunished. Assisted by several experienced officers and engineers, who had accompanied him from the continent, and aided by liberal supplies of ordnance and other warlike stores, furnished by the prime-minister of France, he was speedily in a capacity to cope with the protestant forces.

In the meantime, that increased vigour, together with some appearance of legality, might be given to the proceedings of the insurgents, measures had been taken, before the arrival of O'Neill, to establish a formal confederacy among all the Roman catholics of the kingdom. This object, more important

[1] Desid. Cur. Hib. ii. 487. [2] Ibid.

than even military aid, was, through the instrumentality of the clergy, easily accomplished. A synod was held in the city of Kilkenny, in the month of May, which was attended by three archbishops, six bishops with the proxies of five others, and a large number of the inferior clergy. They declared "the war, openly catholic, to be just and lawful;" and resolved that a General Assembly, to consist of the Romanist lords and bishops, with delegates, both lay and clerical, from the provinces and principal towns, should be forthwith summoned to meet in that city. This assembly, or convention, accordingly met in the latter end of October. They protested against bearing the name, but they carefully imitated the forms, and exercised all the powers, of a parliament. They decreed that the Romish church should be maintained in all her former rights and immunities, as guaranteed by Magna Charta; and that the government of the nation and the administration of justice, which they presumed to be now entirely in their hands, should be conducted in accordance with the common-law of England, and such Irish statutes as were not hostile to the Romish faith. While they disowned the authority of the lords justices, they professed to maintain the just prerogatives of the king; though almost the first steps which they took were to despatch ambassadors to foreign powers, to issue a new coinage, and to levy money for the support of the confederacy. (3) They ordained that "the possessions of the protestant clergy in right of the church shal be deemed the possessions of the catholic clergy," or, in other words, they transferred the ecclesiastical estates of the kingdom to the Romish church. They resolved to commit the management of their affairs to a supreme council of twenty-four, to whom the entire executive power of the confederacy should be entrusted. And they adopted an 'oath of association' which the priesthood were enjoined to administer to every parishioner, under pain of excommunication, and which bound those who took it to submit to no

[3] Cox, ii. 124.

peace made without the consent of the General Assembly; and, in any peace which might be made, "to the utmost of their power to insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions:—

"I. That the Roman catholics, both clergy and laity, have free and public exercise of the Roman catholic religion and function throughout the kingdom, in as full lustre and splendour as it was in the reign of king Henry the Seventh.

"II. That the secular clergy of Ireland, viz. primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, and other dignitaries, parsons, vicars, and all other pastors of the secular clergy, shall enjoy all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, immunities, in as full and ample a manner as was enjoyed within this realm during the reign of the late Henry the Seventh.

"III. That all laws and statutes made since the twentieth year of king Henry the Eighth, whereby any restraint, penalty, or restriction is laid on the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion within this kingdom, may be repealed and declared void by one or more acts of parliament.

"IV. That all primates, archbishops, bishops, deans, &c. shall hold and enjoy all the churches and church-livings, in as large and ample a manner as the late protestant clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the first day of October, 1641, together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and rights to their respective sees and churches. (4)"

The assembly continued its sittings until the month of January 1643; when, having confided the management of the war and the administration of the affairs of the confederacy, to the supreme council, it was formally dissolved. Generals were immediately chosen for each of the provinces, among whom Owen O'Neill was appointed for Ulster; and measures were taken for prosecuting the war with increased vigour. Meanwhile, Charles was an anxious observer of these transactions. The correspondence which he held with

[4] Cox, ii. App. No. xiv.

the Irish Romanists prior to the rebellion, had continued almost without interruption. He still indulged in the hope of obtaining aid from Ireland against the parliament, either by inducing the Romanists openly to espouse his cause; or, by effecting a cessation of hostilities, and removing the protestant forces from this country to join his standard in England. For many obvious reasons the latter appeared the preferable plan, and the opportunity for carrying it into effect was now afforded.

One of the first measures of the confederated Romanists, assembled at Kilkenny, was to petition the king for the appointment of commissioners to receive certain offers which they were disposed to make in furtherance of his service. This proposal was eagerly embraced by Charles, and early in the month of January, he issued a commission to the earl of Ormond and certain other noblemen and gentlemen in whom he had confidence, empowering and directing them to treat with the supreme council. But owing to the influence of the lords justices and the Irish privy council, the majority of whom were attached to the parliamentary party and decidedly averse to any compromise with the Romanists, the first attempt at negociation proved unsuccessful. Ormond soon perceived that, to proceed with any hope of success, a change in the persons at the head of the Irish government was indispensably necessary. Accordingly, urged on and supported by Charles, who had conferred on him the command of the army and recently created him a marquis, in the month of May he dismissed Sir William Parsons, the more influential of the two lords justices, and substituted Sir Henry Tichborne, a staunch royalist, in his room. Soon after, he procured the imprisonment of Parsons and several other leading members of the privy council, on frivolous charges which were no farther prosecuted.(5) Having thus secured

[b] They continued in confinement above a year. On the 23rd of August 1644, I find the Parliament resolving "That Sir J. Temple, Sir W. Parsons, Sir Robt. Meredith, and Sir Adam Loftus, prisoners in Ireland," should be

the co-operation, or rather the control, of the government, Ormond was enabled to resume, under more favourable circumstances, the negociation with the confederates. Their demands were at first so extravagant that he refused to listen to them. But at length all difficulties being overcome, a cessation of hostilities, between the royal forces and those of the confederacy, was concluded at Siggintown near Naas, on the fifteenth of September;—the Roman Catholics engaging to pay the king the sum of thirty thousand pounds, and Ormond guaranteeing to them and to their clergy the undisturbed possession of all the towns, castles, and churches in those parts of the kingdom which were occupied by their forces at the time of signing the treaty. (6) The king's anxious desire to obtain a reinforcement from Ireland was immediately gratified. Ten regiments were sent to England in the latter end of the year; but, to the disappointment and deep mortification of the king, the greater part of these auxiliaries were either killed or captured by Fairfax, the parliamentary general, and the remainder were soon after slain at the siege of Gloucester.

But, while this cessation afforded scarcely any effectual support to Charles, it produced both in England and in Scotland an impression most injurious to his character and cause. It indicated his anxiety to favour, at almost any hazard, the Roman catholic party. It afforded another proof of the ascendancy of popish influence in the royal councils; and it developed but too clearly his design of having recourse to the Irish rebels, whose hands were stained with the blood of his protestant subjects, to aid him in his unnatural contest against the liberties of the nation.

No sooner were the terms of the cessation divulged, than the parliament gave it their most decided opposition, They immediately published their objections to it in a large Decla-

exchanged for persons in their custody; but on the 16th of October this exchange of prisoners had not taken place, though it was probably effected soon after. Journ. iii. 603. 666.

[6] Carte, i. 434-50.

ration, and resolved to impeach Ormond as a traitor to the three kingdoms. Many even of the royalist party, and some of the nobility, who had been either in arms for the king, or in attendance on the court at Oxford, were so offended and shocked, that they at once abandoned his cause; lord Hol land declaring, "that his conscience would not give him leave to stay any longer at Oxford." (7) And as the news of this obnoxious measure reached London just at the time when the Solemn League and Covenant was presented to Parliament, it had no inconsiderable influence in promoting the speedy adoption of that measure, and inducing the friends of truth and constitutional freedom to concur the more readily in that bond of mutual defence and protection.

The estates of Scotland also promptly declared their opposition to the cessation, and the people of that kingdom were roused by the apprehensions which it excited, to take a still deeper interest in the success of their Covenant. Their feelings on this occasion are thus described by an eye-witness and an influential leader, in a letter written from Edinburgh in the month of November.—"Most of all, the Irish cessation made the minds of our people embrace that means of safety. [the Covenant] For when it was seen in print from Dublin, that in July his Majesty had sent a commission to Ormond, the judges and committee there, to treat with these miscreants; that the dissenting commissioners were cast into prison; that the agreement was proclaimed accepting the sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling from these idolatrous butchers, and giving them over the name of 'Roman Catholic subjects now in arms,' a sure peace for a year, with full power to bring in what men, arms and money they could from all the world, and to exterminate all who should not agree to that proclamation; we thought it clear that the popish party were so far countenanced, as it was uncessary for all protestants to join more strictly for their safety." (8)

7 Whitelocke's Mem. p. 77.

8 Baillie, i. 393-4.

Similar effects were produced in Ulster. The Cessation was peculiarly offensive to the northern protestants. They were still masters of the province notwithstanding the formidable opposition of Owen Roe O'Neill, whose arrival in the summer of 1642 had rendered their leaders only the more vigilant and enterprising. Sir William Stewart was indefatigable in maintaining the ascendancy which the victory he had gained near Raphoe, a few weeks before the landing of O'Neill, had secured to the protestant arms. (9) Neither the severity of the subsequent winter, nor the obstacles presented by an almost inaccessible country, deterred him from pursuing the insurgents even through the remotest districts of Donegal. (10) When the return of spring afforded more

[9] See vol. i. p. 365.

[10] This is evident from a curious little tract of only six pages, entitled, "Special good news from Ireland, being a true relation of a late and great victory obtained against the rebels in the north of Ireland: By that pious, prudent and courageous commander, Sir William Stewart, Colonel. The truth whereof being confirmed by three several letters directed to Mr. Abraham Pont, Solicitor for the said Sir William in London." Lond. Jan. 27, 1643. 4to. The first of these letters to Mr. Pont is written by a Thomas Marshall from Irvine in Scotland, Jan. 13, 1643. The writer had been a volunteer in Sir William's regiment from the preceding August, and had left Derry in the end of the year. He relates various skirmishes between the Lagan forces and the rebels in Fannet and Tarman, under Tirlagh McCaffer and some of the chiefs of the MacSwynes and O'Gallaghers, about Mulroy, Rosgull, and Doe. He praises his commander for his steady attachment to Presbyterianism, and adds that the papistical and prelatical faction were Sir William's chief enemies--"because he is one that abborreth all corrupt courses in matters of God's worship, and who (I hope) if God spare his dayes, will prove an active instrument for furthering the work of reformation in that land." The second letter to Mr. Pont is from Mr. William Stewart, son of Sir William, and is dated from Glasgow, Dec. 16, 1642. He gives an account, similar to that in the preceding letter, of his father's proceedings in Fannet, on the authority of a James Ervine of Letterkenny, who had arrived at Glasgow a few days before he wrote, and who had also served under his father. The third is from a Mr. John Lockart, written from Edinburgh, Dec. 20. He calls Mr. Pont his "worthy brother," and states that Sir William had lately relieved his cousin-german James Nesbit's goods, of which the rebels had despoiled him at a time when they burned his house.

favourable opportunities for prosecuting the war, both Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, with their regiments and those of colonel Mervyn, Sir Thomas Staples, and certain companies from the garrison of Derry, accompanied by captain Dudley Philips's troop of horse, made various incursions during the month of May through the counties of Donegal, Derry, and Tyrone, dispersing several small bodies of the rebels, and carrying away large supplies of cattle.

Nor were their brethren inactive in the north-eastern parts of the province. During the winter the fort of Mountjoy on Lough-Neagh, garrisoned by part of the Scottish army and of Sir John Clotworthy's regiment under the command of colonel James Clotworthy, had been closely besieged by O'Neill, and the communication with the county of Derry across the river Bann had been completely cut off. Their first military operation in the spring of 1643 was accordingly directed to the relief of this fort. To secure the passage of the Bann, Sir John Clotworthy's boats under captain Langford dislodged several parties of the rebels who had been entrenched upon the islands of Lough Beg near Toome, and placed British garrisons in their stead. Soon after, major Ellis having transported the remainder of Sir John's regiment and a part of Monro's in boats across Lough Neagh, attacked the insurgents in their trenches before Mountjoy. After a sharp encounter, in which captain Owen O'Connelly was shot in the arm, he compelled them, with the loss of one hundred and fifty men, to raise the siege and retire upon the forts of Charlemont and Dungannon, which were still in their possession. (11)

He entreats Mr. Pont to use his best efforts in London to procure, "if possible, a mandamus for your Colonel and Sir Robert Stewart to put away the service-book men, as Jabesh Whittaker, Scyrilaw, &c. as very great hinderers of our Scots, that are well affected either to reside there, or to resort thither." I find a Rev. William Schirlaw admitted rector of Aghanloo in Derry, 13th Sept. 1637. He had probably other preferments.

[11] These facts, which, like those referred to in the preceding note, might have been given more in detail, had they been of sufficient importance, are

To drive them from these strongholds became the next object of the protestants. In this service the Scottish forces were employed during the greater part of the month of May. The following narrative of the proceedings of this expedition is interesting, from its illustrating both the state of the country, and the mode of warfare practised at that period. It is from the pen of Turner, with whom the reader is already acquainted as major in lord Sinclair's regiment, then quartered at Newry. "In May, if I remember right, of the year 1643, Monro took the field with eighteen hundred foot and two or three troops of horse. When he came to Kirriotter,[12] seven miles from the Newry, he wrote to my Lord Sinclair to send him three hundred musketeers, and either his brother or me with them. But before this time, Owen O'Neill (who had been governor of Arras, for the King of Spain, and defended it gallantly till he got honourable articles) was come to Ireland and declared general for Ulster. O'Neill, having brought some arms, ammunition, and officers from the Spanish Netherlands, had, in a short time, reduced many of the natives to a more civil deportment, and to a pretty good understanding of military discipline, and at that time was not far off with a considerable part of an army. That night Monro's message came to the Newry, by my Lord Sinclair's appointment I rode to him. I found him a-bed, and showed him in what good posture O'Neill was, which, as he confessed, he knew not before; but it was not in my power to dissuade him from the opinion he had, that the Irish durst not stand and look to him.

gleaned from the following pamphlet:—"A true extract of several letters lately received, which were perused by the Committee for Irish affairs at Grocers' Hall, and by them thought fit to be published. Relating the most remarkable passages of the English and Scotch armie in the province of Ulster, in the Kingdome of Ireland, which have happened of late betwixt them and the rebels there. Published by order of that Committee." Lond. July 17, 1643, pp. 8.

[12] Called Curriator by Pynnar, in his Survey of Ulster (Harris' Hib. p. 222) but now known by the name of Pointzpass.

After an hour's discourse with him, and the drinking of half a dozen cups of sack, I left him and returned to the Newry; and immediately marched to Armagh, where the Major-General had appointed me to meet him, which was sixteen miles. I had caused every one of my soldiers to carry twelve shot a-piece, and had besides on horseback a centner of powder, with ball and match; for I had learned of the Major-General that none of his men were provided with more than two or three shot; a great fault in a general, or in any man, to have an overweening opinion of himself, and to undervalue his enemy He gave me the van, in regard I had [not?] gone far. We marched from Armagh four miles further into the barony of Lough-gall, a very close country full of hedges and ditches. I had told the Major-General that undoubtedly we would find O'Neill before us, and therefore desired that no horse should be permitted to go before me, in regard they could do no service in that country, but be an hindrance to the foot. Yet Major Ballantine would needs march before me. But at a place called Anachshamrie,[13] which was General O'Neill's own house, he was shamefully chased back upon me, two of his horsemen being killed, three hurt, and the rest exceedingly terrified. The road-way being none of the broadest, and ditches on every side, I was more troubled with these horsemen than I was with the Irish. But having made way for them as well as I could, I advanced towards the enemy, whom I could not see, he having sheltered himself, with fifteen hundred fixed musketeers, in enclosures, ditches, and hedges; yet he made me quickly know where he was by a salve of four or five hundred shot he made at me, at which some of my men fell. I then made a stand and lined the hedges on all sides of me, constantly firing upon them, and advancing still on the highway, though very leisurely. The body of

[3] Carte (i. 432) calls this place "Annagh Sawry, near Charlemont." It is also known by the name of Annagh-Savary, and is about two miles from Charlemont towards Lough-gall.

Monro's foot were a great deal further behind me than either I thought or O'Neill fancied; otherwise I suppose he would have left his post, advantageous as it was, and advanced on me, being five to one against me. The dispute continued very hot about an hour, and then Major Borthwick, since a Colonel, and Captain Drummond, since a Lieutenant-General,(14) came up with a great pace to my relief, and endeavoured to cut through the hedges, that they might march through the enclosures. O'Neill perceiving his men begin to look over their shoulders, resolved rather to retire than fly; and so he did to Charlemont. Thither did also run the most part of the country people, with near three thousand cows, all which we had got if we had pursued our victory. Owen's house was immediately plundered and burnt, and so were many other fine houses in that right pleasant country. Next day our scattered parties coming in to us we marched to Tandragee, where Sir James Lockart, pursuing some of the rebels in a wood, was mortally shot in the belly, whereof he died next morning. We buried him in the Newry, in as honourable a way as we could. After Monro had given my Lord Sinclair a visit, he returned to Carrickfergus, and left us at the Newry." (15)

Though the Scottish forces had not succeeded in capturing O'Neill, they were fortunate enough to secure a prisoner of equal importance. Soon after they had returned to their quarters, as colonel Home's regiment and major Ballantine's troop were employed in besieging the fort at Newcastle, in the county of Down, in the occupation of the

[14] Turner, as the reader has been apprised (vol. i. p. 354), afterwards became notorious, in the reign of Charles II. as the relentless persecutor of the presbyterians in the South of Scotland; and it is singular that the officer here mentioned by him was, as General Drummond, again associated with him in his bloody campaigns against his countrymen. Wodrow's History.

[15] Memoirs of Sir James Turner, &c. 4to. Edin. 1829. See also Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 490, for O'Neill's account of these skirmishes, which differs little from Turner's.

rebels, they observed a person landing, under suspicious circumstances, from a small vessel on the coast. They immediately seized him, and having threatened him with instant death if he did not discover himself, he confessed that he was the confidential servant of the earl of Antrim, who by his assistance had escaped from Carrickfergus about a year before;(16) that his master was in the vessel on his way to join O'Neill at Charlemont; and that he had been sent on shore to make arrangements for his safe landing. The servant, whose name was Stewart, being compelled to make the concerted signal to Antrim, the earl put ashore, but was immediately taken prisoner by Ballantine and carried to Monro, who committed him to his former quarters in the castle of Carrickfergus. On his person were found various important letters from the queen and several Scottish noblemen, then with the king at York, which were immediately transmitted to the committee of estates at Edinburgh; all indicating the design, which through Ormond Charles so soon after accomplished, of concluding a cessation with the Irish rebels, and employing them against the parliament in England.(17)

The success of the Scottish forces in this expedition into Armagh was greatly marred by the scarcity of supplies, under which they were constantly suffering from the first month after their arrival in Ireland.(18) It was this circumstance which prevented Monro from following up his victory

16 The mode of Antrim's escape on this occasion from the castle of Carrickfergus, where he had been confined by Monro in June 1642 (see vol. i. p. 364), is thus related by Baillie :—" Antrim was carried to his old lodging at Carrickfergus, whence the other year he had fled from the general's custody by a pretty stratagem. Having obtained the general's pass for a sick man, two of his servants carried him in a bed as sick to the shore, and got him boated for Carlisle, whence he went to York."—Baillie, i. 365.

17 Baillie, i. 364-5.

18 Turner, in his " Memoirs," says, " I fingered no pay the whole time I staid in Ireland [nearly three years] except for three months." In another place he says, " We had meal so sparingly, seldom we could allow our soldiers above a pound a-day."

at Loughgall, and compelled him to retire so hastily from Charlemont. In the letter which he wrote on this occasion to the English parliament, informing them of the defeat of the rebels and the capture of Antrim, he once more pleaded with great earnestness that adequate supplies of provision should be furnished him, to enable him to keep the field for a longer period, and prosecute the war with greater vigour.(19)

19 This letter from Monro was published, as soon as it reached London, by order of the house of Commons, with the following pompous title: "A letter of great consequence, sent by the Hon. Robert Lord Monro out of the Kingdom of Ireland, to the Hon. the Committee for the Irish Affairs in England, concerning the state of the rebellion there. Together with the relation of a great victory he obtained, and of his taking the Earl of Antrim, about whom was found divers papers, which discovered a dangerous PLOT against the Protestants in all his Majesty's dominions: their plot being set down by consent of the Queen's Majesty, for the ruin of religion and overthrow of his Majesties three kingdoms."—Lond. July 8, 1643, pp. 7. See Com. Jour. iii. 157. The following is a copy of this letter, which I insert here, as it corroborates the statements in the text, and throws additional light on the state of matters at this time in Ulster.

"To the Right Honourable my very noble friends, these on the Irish Committee of the Parliament of England, present these with due respects.

"Right Honourable,

"Expect nothing from your Honours' real and faithful servant in this adverse time, but what brings comfort. In my last expedition against the rebels, occasioned by sudden intelligence, I went forth with 2000 foot and 300 horse, being provided for ten days at no greater allowance than seven ounces of meal a day for a soldier, our scarcity being so great, that for want of victuals and shoes we were unable to do the service we wish, or your honours expect from us. Nevertheless our fortune was such, that with this small party, without cannon, for want of carriage horses, we beat Owen Maccart O'Neale, Sir Philem O'Neale, and Owen Maccart the general his son, being all joined together with their forces, and forced them to return upon Charlemont, after quitting the General's house to be spoiled and burnt by us, with the whole houses in Lochgall, being the best plantation in Ulster, and straitest for defence of the rebels. At the same time Colonel Hume, with a party of 500 men, was busied in beleaguering the castle of Newcastle. The receipt of all the intelligence comes from England to the rebels in Ulster, where it was my good fortune, in time of treaty there, to trust a barque come from the Isle of Man with that treacherous

The Scottish army being thus compelled to suspend their operations against O'Neill, their allies, the British forces of Down and Antrim, next took the field in the month of June. Detachments from the regiments of lords Conway, Ards, and Claneboy, of colonel Chichester and Sir James Montgomery, with two hundred horse principally of coonell Hill's regiment, marched to Mountnorris in Armagh, where they were joined by a reinforcement of two hundred foot

Papist the Earl of Antrim ; whose brother Alexander was sent before to the Queen's Majesty from York, to make way for the Earl in negotiating betwixt her Majesty's army in the North of England, and the Papists on the borders and the North parts thereof, and with the rebels in Ireland ; their plot being set down by the Queen's Majesty's consent, for the ruin of religion, and overthrow of his Majesty's loyal subjects in all the three dominions, as evidently doth appear by the letters, characters, passes and papers found with the Earl, directed by me to the Counsel of Scotland and the General.

" It becometh me, as the servant of the public, entrusted with your commission under the Great Seal of England, to inform truly your Honours of the great prejudice the cause in hand suffers by your Honours' neglect of this army, being unable to do service as might be expected from them. If they received the half of the allowance your soldiers receive at Dublin, and had allowance for some horses for carriage ; in my opinion, in six weeks time, we would settle garrisons in Ulster, and thereafter oversway your enemies elsewhere, in any part within his majesty's dominions where your enemies prevailed most. Therefore my weak opinion is, this army be not neglected, wherein consists so much of your peace and safety, having no friends you can repose in more than in us, who is desirous to see religion flourish, rebels subjected to obedience, and his majesty's throne established in despite of papists and of wicked counsel, misleading his majesty to the ruin of his dominions ; who could be the happiest prince in the world, if the Lord could make his heart to hearken to the counsel of those which shed their blood for his honour.

" The Earl of Antrim shall, God willing, be kept close in the castle of Carrickfergus till I be acquainted from your Honours concerning him ; and the traitor conveyed him last away is to be executed, since we can extort no discovery from him that is contained in the papers sent to Scotland. So recommending your Honours, and your weighty affairs, to the direction and protection of the Almighty, desirous to hear from you, I remain your most humble, truly affectionate, and real servant,

" Carrickfergus, the 23 of May 1643. ROBERT MONRO, General Major."

and one hundred horse from Dundalk, under the command of lord Moore. From this place of rendezvous they marched through the county of Armagh into that of Monaghan, which they traversed in various directions, as far as Belturbet; but they met with no opposition; for O'Neill, apprised of their approach and disheartened by his encounter with Monro, had hastily retreated towards Connaught. They pillaged the country, and destroyed whatever might be of any use to the rebels; but being also, like the Scots, in great want of provisions, and especially of shoes, they soon returned bringing with them "three thousand lean cows, two thousand sheep, and near one thousand baggage horses." Scarcely had O'Neill escaped this danger, when he unexpectedly encountered the Lagan forces, which, under the command of Sir Robert Stewart, had penetrated through Tyrone into Monaghan in search of the insurgents. Both parties met near Clones, on Tuesday the thirteenth of June, and a general engagement immediately ensued. After a severe and protracted struggle, in which the Laganeers, as they were sometimes called, had only six killed and twenty-two wounded, the rebels were put to flight and suffered severely. "The English horse being mounted upon light nags, and armed with Scots lances, did great execution in the pursuit, which was continued for eight or ten miles, the ground being very good for riding. The rebels suffered in this action a greater loss than any they had met with before in Ulster, most of their arms being taken, and the greatest part of the foreign officers, which came over with Owen O'Neill, being either killed or taken prisoners." Sir Robert, for want of supplies, was unable to improve this victory as he might otherwise have done. He scoured the greater part of Monaghan and Tyrone; and having taken the castle of Derg, and a considerable booty of cattle, he conducted his prisoners in safety to Derry.(20)

By these vigorous proceedings the protestant forces were

[20] Carte, i. 433.

able to maintain a decided ascendancy in Ulster; and had they been efficiently supported by their brethren in the other provinces, they would have speedily reduced the insurgent leaders to submission. But the first effect of the pacification, which Ormond had concluded with the Roman catholic confederates, was to deprive them of the co-operation of the English regiments in Leinster, who were despatched, as already related, to the assistance of Charles in England. By this measure the strength of the protestants was seriously weakened, while that of the Romanists was proportionably increased; and the advantages which the former had gained by their successful struggles in Ulster were, to a great degree, counteracted. No wonder then that the Northern Protestants of all parties were both irritated and alarmed, when the terms of that ill-omened cessation were made public. They naturally dreaded the consequences that might result from the predominance which it gave to the Roman catholic party throughout the greater part of Ireland. They were justly indignant to find the rebels, notwithstanding all their cruelties, not only unpunished but guaranteed in the undisturbed possession of all the towns and castles, and the various tracts of country which they had acquired by the expulsion or massacre of the protestant proprietors; and at the same time to see the priesthood supplanting the reformed clergy in the enjoyment of the churches and other ecclesiastical property. These proofs of the revival of popery, and the growing influence of its adherents, as well as of the confirmed predilections of the court in favour of the enemies of protestantism, prepared the people of Ulster, now in a manner deserted and betrayed, for cordially receiving the covenant as the only means of uniting the friends of truth and freedom, and by this union maintaining those civil and religious liberties which were dearer to them than life.

Such was the state of affairs in Ulster when captain O'Connolly arrived in November, bearing a copy of the Covenant, and letters recommending of it to the command-

ers of the British and Scottish forces. (21) The lords justices, who, by the intrigues of Ormond, were now in the interest of Charles, had resolved to use every possible precaution to prevent the introduction of that bond into Ireland. They wrote to Monro, charging him on no account to permit it to be tendered to the officers or soldiers under his command; and at the same time Ormond, as general-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, sent a similar order to the British colonels who were more directly subject to his authority. On the eighteenth of December the lords justices issued a proclamation, which they ordered to be read at the head of every regiment, denouncing the covenant, as Charles had already done in England, as a seditious and treasonable league, and strictly forbidding all persons either to tender or to take it. These injunctions were of course disregarded by Monro, who was under the control, not of the Irish government, but of the joint committee of the English and Scottish parliaments. They produced little effect on the commanders of the British forces; who, though they may have been disposed as individuals to espouse the royal cause, yet found their officers and men so warmly attached to that of the parliament and the Scots, that they did not venture even to read to their regiments the proclamation against the covenant. On the second of January, 1644, they assembled at Belfast to draw up a joint answer to the English parliament. The meeting was attended only by the lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir James Montgomery, Sir William Cole, colonels Chichester, Hill, and Mervyn, and Thornton the mayor of Derry. They assured the parliament, in reply to the letters of which O'Connolly had been the bearer, that they were hostile to the cessation, and were ready, on receiving adequate supplies, to prosecute the war against the confederate Romanists: though it is alleged that, at the same time, they entered into a secret engagement to oppose the covenant, and obey the

21 See vol. i. p. 411.

orders of Ormond, now invested by Charles with the higher dignity of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. (22)

While the Scottish forces firmly withstood every attempt to induce them to declare against the covenant, it required many efforts and much negotiation to persuade them to remain in Ulster. Neither provisions nor pay had yet been forwarded to them, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties which Monro had so frequently addressed, both to the parliament in England and to the estates in Scotland. The latter had, indeed, in conjunction with the English Commissioners, in the month of November promised to discharge all their arrears of pay, and to send them ten thousand suits of clothes, including shoes, ten thousand bolls of meal, together with proportionate supplies of arms and ammunition. In the meantime they were in the greatest distress; and through extreme want Monro was compelled, in the end of the year, to withdraw the garrisons from Newry, (23) Mountjoy, Dungannon, and the several forts which the Scots held on the river Bann. In consequence of the departure from Scotland of the army, with which the estates had agreed to assist the English Parliament, an additional military force was required for the defence of that kingdom. Orders were therefore hastily issued in the month of January, directing the

22 Carte, i. 486, 7.

23 This garrison had been in such distress that they were compelled to make a truce with the rebels in order to procure some supplies. Turner, in his "Memoirs" so frequently quoted, furnishes us with the following particulars; the mode of concluding this little affair being characteristic of Irish bargain-making to the present day:—"Towards the latter end of this year, 1643, our garrison at the Newry fell in extreme want of all manner of provisions, both for back and belly. For this reason, by Monro's toleration, I had a meeting with an Irish colonel, one Turlough O'Neill, sent by Sir Philemy. We met at Kirrioter, [Pointzpass] each of us with twenty horse: *and after an hour's discourse, and the drinking some healths in aquavitæ and Irish usquebaugh,* we concluded a cessation of arms with them for our own garrison. But this did not supply our wants; for no money came to the army either from England or Scotland, and very little meal came from Carrickfergus to us."

Scottish regiments in Ulster to return home. These orders they prepared to obey with the greatest alacrity. So eager were they to remove, that it became necessary to determine by lot the regiments which should first occupy the few transports then upon the coast. Three, to wit, Sinclair's, Lowdon's, and Campbell's, prepared to embark; but, having suffered so much from want of supplies, and their promised arrears not being yet forthcoming, they entered into a solemn engagement that, on reaching Scotland, they would neither be disbanded, nor obey any superior officer, until their terms should be complied with; and that, if opposed, they would immediately declare for the king against the popular cause. (24) The Presbytery, apprised of this mutinous procedure, and ever on the alert when the public interests were endangered, immediately drew up and published a declaration against it, condemning this oath as "ambiguous, scandalous, contrary to the covenant, and a divisive motion. They sent two of their number to the meeting of officers at Carrickfergus to declare the same to them; and withal they wrote to the Commission of the church of Scotland concerning the present state of the army and their oath, with a copy of their own declaration against it." (25)

The Presbyterians, as might be expected, were decidedly averse to the removal of any portion of the Scottish forces from Ulster, especially at so critical a conjuncture, when the royal party with Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, at its head, were in league with the confederate Irish, and were strenuously opposing the introduction of the covenant. On receiving the first intelligence of the recall of the army, they sent over Sir Frederick Hamilton, a gentleman of considerable influence in Scotland as well as in Ulster, to petition the Estates to rescind their order and permit the regiments to remain. At the same time, they embraced this opportunity of requesting the Scottish authorities to hasten over persons duly authorised to administer the covenant in Ulster. The British

[24] Carte, i. 488. [25] Adair's MS.

regiments too, both in the Lagan and in Down and Antrim, were, with the exception perhaps of a few of their colonels, equally opposed to the removal of the Scots, which they perceived, if effected, would at once render the Romish and royalist party predominant in Ulster. Not only were they convinced of the importance of retaining their Scottish allies, but they now saw clearly the necessity of co-operating more cordially with them in promoting the objects of the proposed covenant. These regiments, accordingly, in the month of February despatched captain Owen O'Connolly and captain Robert Magill to Edinburgh to submit these views to the Scottish estates, to entreat the continuance of their forces in Ulster, and to express the desires of the British to be permitted to join with their Scottish brethren in the solemn league and covenant.

While these deputations were occupied with their negociations in Scotland, the first portion of the Scottish army had already embarked, and the remainder were busily preparing to follow. In the meantime, considerable alarm began to spread throughout the province. The people, almost exclusively presbyterian, remembering the black oath of Strafford and the severities of the prelates, dreaded that, if left unprotected, a similar oath might again be imposed upon them by Ormond, and the free exercise of their religion be once more interdicted. To such an extent did this consternation spread that the country-people, especially in the county of Down, left off their husbandry, and resolved neither to till nor sow their lands, but at once to abandon the country, if the Scottish forces were withdrawn. To remove these apprehensions, the British colonels held a meeting on the twentieth of February at Newtonards, to which they invited the several parishes in that county to send representatives. They assured these deputies when assembled, that no efforts should be wanting on their parts to ensure the continuance of their Scottish allies; and that, should even these forces be removed, they and their regiments would protect them in the enjoyment of their religious privileges, and never join the

state in imposing any restrictions upon their conscience. By these assurances the fears of the people were allayed, the labours of the field were resumed, and all parties awaited with anxiety the result of their application to the Scottish authorities. (26) They were not kept long in suspense. On the twenty-second of February the committee of estates, on a full consideration of the state of parties in Ireland, and of the condition of Ulster in particular, resolved to countermand their order for the removal of the Scottish forces; and, to induce the regiments the more readily to remain, they pledged themselves to forward forthwith additional supplies of money, arms, and provisions. Five days afterwards, they sent back to Ireland Sir Frederick Hamilton, together with Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers, colonel of one of the regiments, with a copy of their resolution, and with private instructions to use their best efforts to detain the army, and to persuade the British regiments, to whom they had also resolved to send a supply of provisions, to join with them in prosecuting the war. (27) They had scarcely completed these arrangements, when captains Magill and O'Connolly arrived, and laid before them the views of the British. In reply to the application of these officers, the committee of estates, on the fourth of March, drew up another resolution, stating their determi-

[26] Carte, i. 489.

[27] These, and several subsequent notices of the proceedings of the Estates of Scotland, are taken from a manuscript volume in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, entitled "Transactions of the Scottish Army in Ireland," which extend from 1643 to June 1648. As no portion of the contents of this MS. has yet been published, I have inserted in the Appendix to this volume copies of such public papers as are necessary to illustrate and confirm the statements in the text. The reader will accordingly find there the following original documents referring to what is stated above:—(No. I.) Act of the council and committee of estates at Edinburgh, February 22, 1644, sent by Sir Frederick Hamilton. (No. II.) Instructions from the committee of estates to Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers and Sir F. Hamilton, Feb. 27, 1644. (No. III.) A Letter from the Committee of Estates of Scotland to the officers of the army in Ireland, sent with Colonel Campbell and Sir F. Hamilton. Feb. 27, 1644.

nation to continue their forces in Ulster, and to send provisions to the British regiments for their encouragement; and concluding with this assurance:—"And the committee of estates do heartily embrace their desire of entering into the Covenant; and will have a care to send the same to general major Monro, to be presented both to the Scots army and to the British as a firm ground of their union in this cause." (28)

These satisfactory representations induced the greater part of the Scottish forces to remain in Ireland; but no entreaties could persuade the three regiments, already embarked, to abandon their design. Monroe, then on the eve of marriage with the widow of the second lord Montgomery of the Ards, readily complied with the wishes of the Estates; and prevailed on the remaining regiments, though still in great straits, and equally impatient with the others to return to

[28] This second resolution of the Scottish states is extracted from the "MS. Register of the Committee of Estates, from August 1643 to July 1644," deposited in the General Register House, Edinburgh. As it is short, I subjoin a copy of it here. Page 149. "4 March, 1644. Answer to the Petition of Ulster. The Committee of Estates having this day receeved a petitioun from Captan Oconeilly and Captane Robert Makgill, signed by and in name of the British in Ulster, doe returne answer that as they had formerlie tane to yair consideration the consequences of bringing away the Scots armie from Irland, and for that purpose had imployed Sir Frederick Hamiltoun and Colonell Lawers to represent yair resolutions of the expediencie of the stay of that armie, and what course wes tane for yair subsistence. So being confident of the affectioun of the British to joyne with them in this caus of religioun against all opposers yairof, they wer not forgetful of them, but gave speciall instructions to expresse their sense of their hard conditioun and willingness to doe euerie thing that is in yair power for yair releeff, and that they had given order for providing of twa thousand bolls of meall to be sent to the Derie, and will never be wanting at anie occasioun to give reall testimoneis of yair respect and care of all such of the British as sall constantlie adhere and joyne in prosecution of this warre against these cruell and bloodie rebells and yair adherents. And the Committee of Estats doe heartilie embrace yair desire of entering into the covenant, and will have a care to send the same to Generall Major Monro to be presented both to the Scots armie and to the British as a firme grund of their union in this caus."

Scotland, to maintain their ground and resume their former quarters. The long expected supplies soon arrived. In the end of March a vessel, with the sum of ten thousand pounds in money, and a large quantity of meal and clothing, reached Carrickfergus. Two thousand bolls of meal were, about the same time, sent from the Clyde to Derry, one half of which was designed for the use of the Lagan forces, and the other half for the garrison of that city. Shortly afterwards, the shire of Ayr sent over a free gift of near three thousand bolls to the army at Carrickfergus, as "the first, though small testimony of their affection, care, and diligence." (29)

Not only the Scots, but even the people of Holland, forwarded at this critical period supplies of provisions. So early as the month of June, 1643, letters were received in England from several towns in the Low Countries expressing their willingness to contribute to the relief of the distressed protestants in Ireland; (30) and on the twenty-ninth of the following month, four merchants of London were appointed by both houses of parliament as commissioners to proceed to Holland to collect and forward the contributions so generously offered. (31) The assembly of divines, at the request of the parliament, wrote a recommendatory letter to the classes or presbyteries in the United Provinces (32) in favour of these commissioners, who forthwith proceeded to the continent, and engaged with energy and zeal in their charitable enterprise. At their suggestion, the States-General issued a general order for a collection to be taken in all the churches,

[29] See in the Appendix, (No. IV.) a Letter from the Committee for the shire of Ayr, to the officers of the Scottish army in Ireland, sent by Gawn Blair, and dated at Ayr, March 5, 1644. Trans. of Scot. Army. MS. *ut supra*, p. 63.

[30] Commons' Journals, iii. 122.

[31] Ibid. iii. 263. The names of these merchants were Adam Lawrence, Derrick Van-Oost, Maurice Thompson, and Nich. Corsellas.

[32] Ibid. iii. 184. Lightfoot's Works, xiii. 7. The Rev. Dr. Hoyle (of whom see vol. i. p. 404.) was selected by the Westminster Assembly to write this letter to the churches in Holland.

which was cheerfully and punctually performed; and, with the amount, provisions and clothing were purchased in Holland and forwarded with despatch to Ireland. In the early part of this year not less than four vessels arrived at various ports in Ulster, with the produce of the generous donations of the Dutch people. These seasonable supplies were freely distributed both to the people and to the soldiery, and tended in no small degree to restore confidence among the several classes in the north; all of whom were anxiously waiting the opportunity of consolidating and strengthening their party by joining in the covenant, which, it was now finally arranged, should be sent to Ulster. (33)

On the sixteenth of October, 1643, the English parliament requested the Scottish commissioners to take steps that the covenant "be taken by all the officers, soldiers, and protestants of their nation in Ireland;" and at the same time both houses pledged themselves, that the English protestants and commanders there should join with the Scots in that bond. (34) After some correspondence with the estates in Scotland on this subject, it was finally agreed by the parliament on the ninth of March,—"That the manner of taking and tendering the national league and covenant in the kingdom of Ireland be referred to the consideration of the committee of both nations," then sitting in London. (35) By them it was remitted to the committee of Estates in Edinburgh, and the commission of the general assembly. The latter embraced the opportunity of entrusting this important business to the ministers whose turn it now was to visit Ulster. Of the ministers appointed by the last general

[33] As a matter of curiosity I may insert here the following entry from "The Minutes of the Committee for Irish affairs from 1642 to 1646;" preserved among the MSS. in the British Museum.—14 Feb. 1643-4. John Davis [Carrickfergus] engages to supply the army in Ireland with victuals at the following prices:—"Butter at 4½*d.* per lb.; Beef at 1*s.* 2*d.* per stone, 8lbs. to each stone; Bread at 17½*d.* per lb." See also Chap. xii. Note (25) *postea.*

[34] Com. Jour. iii. 277.

[35] Thurloe's State Papers, i. 33.

assembly, (36) only two had fulfilled their mission. The Rev. Matthew Makail, minister of Carmanoch in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, had come over in November; and in February he was succeeded by the Rev. John Hutchinson, minister of Colmonel in Ayrshire. (37) Of the remaining ministers who had yet to visit Ulster, agreeably to the act of assembly, the Rev. James Hamilton, minister of Dumfries, (with whom the reader is already familiar as minister of Ballywalter in the county of Down,) was selected by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Edinburgh to be the bearer of the covenant. With him were associated in this work three others of the ministers formerly appointed, to wit, the Rev. Hugh Henderson, minister of Dalry in Ayrshire, the Rev. William Adair, minister of Ayr, and the Rev. John Weir, minister of Dalserf in Lanarkshire. The appointment of Hamilton to superintend the administration of the covenant in Ulster was, on the 26th of March, notified in a letter from the committee of estates to the officers of the Scottish army. The bearer of this letter was major Borthwick of lord Lindsay's regiment. In it they thus expressed themselves:—"As our cause is one, and has common friends and enemies, so we must resolve with God's assistance to stand and fall together. And for our firmer union the commissioners of the general assemblie and we have sent master James Hamilton (a faithful minister in this kingdome, and whose integritie is well knowne in Ireland) with the covenant to be sworne by the officers and souldiours of our army, and all such others of the British as shall be willing to enter into this covenant, which is alreadie universallie receavit in this kingdome, and by the houses of parliament and their armies, and is ordained to be taken by all sorts of persones in England. Concerning the fittest time of swearing of this covenant, we remitt it to your discretion and

[36] See vol. i. p. 397.

[37] Adair's MS. Mr. Hutchinson was afterwards removed to Edinburgh, and was the author of the well-known "Exposition of the twelve minor prophets," and of a valuable commentary on the gospel by John.

the messenger sent with it; but the sooner yee doe it we think it so much the better; which will confirme the confidence this kingdom has in you, and will be a character to difference betweene the well and dis-affected. In the meane tyme we trust that you and such of the British forces as love religion and the safetie of thir kingdomes will stand, the best way you may, upone your guarde against the invasione of the rebells." (38)

Hamilton and his colleagues lost no time in entering upon their mission. They reached Carrickfergus in the end of March, and immediately commenced the arduous work entrusted to them. An authentic record of their proceedings at this memorable crisis has been fortunately preserved, though never yet published. It is subjoined without abridgment, as it would be doing injustice to the important and interesting transactions which it records, to condense or curtail the relation of them. (39)

"After this, came over by the assembly's appointment masters James Hamilton, William Adair, John Weir and Hugh Henderson very soon after one another. They were all present at the presbytery held [Monday] the first of April, 1644, shewing their commissions and bringing a letter from the commission of the general assembly directing the

[38] MS. Trans. of Scot. Army, *ut supra*, p. 73.

[39] This narrative is from Adair's MS.; and from the minuteness with which the proceedings of two of the ministers, to wit Messrs. Adair and Weir, are recorded, it is evident that the compiler the Rev. Patrick Adair had the use of a diary kept by one of them, and this one must have been Mr. Adair, the other having died before reaching home. This circumstance strengthens the conjecture I formerly made, (see vol. i. note, p. 206.) that Patrick Adair, the historian, was the son of the minister of Ayr. These ministers brought with them a considerable number of copies of the covenant, printed at Edinburgh in the previous year, with the act of assembly and of the estates approving thereof, prefixed; and several sheets of blank paper attached, for the purpose of receiving the subscriptions of the inhabitants of each parish where it should be tendered. These copies, when subscribed, were preserved as official records of the names of those who took the covenant. See Note (42) *postea*.

ministers of the Scotch army to administer the solemn league and covenant to the army. This was accordingly done. The ministers who had charge of regiments as their congregations, did administer it to these regiments; and the regiments who had no ministers received it from the ministers come from Scotland, who all entered into that oath with great appearance of desire and affection; some really, others went along. I have heard none refused it but major Dalzell in the major-general's regiment, who then and all his days thereafter proved an atheist, and an open enemy to the work of God. (40) But though the army-ministers had no commission except for the army, yet in those places where the covenant was administered to the army, the whole country about came and willingly joined themselves in the covenant; a very few excepted, who were either some old conformist ministers, or known profane or ungodly persons: so that there were more of the country become swearers, than were men in the army. Yet because the black oath had been generally pressed, and taken by many in the country a few years before, these who had taken the black oath were not admitted to the covenant till they at first publickly declared their repentance for it. It was reported by the worthy Mr. Weir who administered the covenant at Carrickfergus, where least was expected, that there were four hundred who had renounced the black oath publickly and taken the covenant, and fourteen hundred of the army and town and places about,

[40] Carte (i. 490.) says, "The covenant was taken on the 4th of that month [April] with great solemnity in the church of Carrickfergus, by Monro and his officers, and in two days afterwards by all his soldiers. Major Dalzell of his own regiment was the only person that refused." This Dalzell afterwards became a general, and was one of the most bitter persecutors of the presbyterians in Scotland in the reign of Charles II., scarcely inferior to Claverhouse himself. Wodrow's history is full of his cruelties, and a portrait of him is given in Dr. Burns's excellent edition of that invaluable work. It is a singular coincidence that three officers, to wit, Turner, Drummond, and Dalzell, employed at this period in the protection and defence of presbyterians in Ulster, should afterwards prove such barbarous persecutors of them in their native country.

besides women, who had not taken the same and now entered into the covenant. And there were in other places large equal proportions, and more people running into it where it was administered, as in Belfast, Comber, Newton, Bangor, also in Broadisland, Isle-Magee, and other places in the county of Antrim, not only where soldiers were quartered, but where they were not quartered; the ministers from Scotland on their own invitation did visit them, and administered the covenant unto them.

"The covenant was taken in all places with great affection; partly sorrow for former judgments, and sins and miseries; partly joy under present consolation, in the hopes of laying a foundation for the work of God in the land, and overthrowing popery and prelacy, which had been the bane and ruin of that poor church: sighs and tears were joined together, and it is much to be observed, both the way ministers used toward the people for clearing their consciences in order to the covenant, in explaining it before they proposed it to the people, and from scripture and solid consequences from it clearing every article of it; and thereafter offered it only to these whose consciences stirred them up to it. Indeed they were assisted with more than the ordinary presence of God in that work in every place they went to; so that all the hearers did bear them witness that God was with them. And the sensible presence and appearance of God with them in these exercises, did overcome many of those who otherwise were not inclined that way, so that very few were found to resist the call of God. The solemnity and spirituality of carrying on this work was like the cloud filling the temple, there being a new tabernacle erecting in the land. And those who had not seen these things before, nor were well acquainted with them, said (as the people in Christ's time) 'we have seen strange things to-day.' Yea, even the malignants who were against the covenant durst not appear on the contrary; for the people generally held these ministers as servants of God and coming with a blessed message and errand to them. Only at Belfast there was no liberty granted to offer the covenant; only with difficulty it

was granted them to preach; (41) and that text was insisted on, Isaiah lvi. 5, 6, 7, where many people who had been at Holywood the day before were present, (42) and divers well wishers in Belfast itself, though the generality of people in it had no such affection. It is observable of that place [Belfast] that though there was long much opposition to the work of Christ in it, yet by degrees the Lord did wear out the opposers, and made them and their posterity altogether insignificant in the place, and brought in a new people from divers places, who do entertain the Gospel and own Christ's interest with equal affection as others.

"Thus the ministers having gone about that work in all places in Down and several places in Antrim, where the Scotch army were quartered, they resolved to go to Coleraine and the Route; also for that purpose, and according as they had clearness, to go farther towards Derry. Mr. Adair and Mr. Weir visited first Antrim, and after that Ballymena, then a small garrison. In both places God was signally present with the ministers and people, the Lord assisting the

[41] There must be some inaccuracy here; for Adair in the previous paragraph mentions Belfast as one of the places where the covenant was taken; and the Rev. William Guthrie in a letter from Edinburgh, dated April 10th, writes to a friend:—"There was a brave day in Ireland on the last Lord's day [April 7] at the swearing of the covenant in Belfast by our army and sundry others,—this, Monro hath written hither." Mem. of Guthrie, p. 22.

[42] Of the many copies of the covenant which were subscribed at this period in Ulster, the only one, so far as I have learned, which has been preserved, is that subscribed at Holywood. This interesting document has been recently deposited in the museum of the Belfast natural history society. It appears from it that the covenant was administered at Holywood on the 8th of April, after a sermon by Mr. Adair, and was subscribed by the parishioners on that and the following day. There are about seventy signatures attached to it; but, as some leaves are wanting at the end, there were probably many more. The first name signed is that of the preacher Mr. Adair; the second is that of master Charles Hall, probably the parochial minister. The following names,—almost all that are legible,—indicate the Scottish descent of the people: John Wright, Thomas Reid, Thomas Baillie, Alexander Waddell, John M'Cormick, John Waugh, John Scott, John M'Bride, James Fairlie, Thomas Russel, John Pentland, Alexander Gillespie, John Martin, James Webster, John M'Clelland.

ministers in the work of preaching and explaining the covenant, and the people with much affection to receive it. The ministers were directed to insist on sweet and suitable subjects thereon, as Ezra, viii. 20. and Psalms, cii. 13.

" From Ballymena they went with a guard of horse toward Coleraine, by one Mr. Hume of general Leslie's regiment. They went the nextday (being Thursday) to the church; and, few being present except the soldiers of the garrison, they explained the covenant to them, and left it to their serious thoughts till the next sabbath [April 21.] being also Easter day. On this Lord's day the convention was very great from town and country; they expounded more fully the covenant, and among other things told the people that their miseries had come from those sorts of people who were there sworn against, though specially from the papists; that the righteous hand of God had afflicted them for going so near the papists in their former worship and government in the church; that, whereas the episcopal party endeavoured peaceableness with the papists by symbolizing with them in much of their superstition, the sovereign holy Lord had turned their policy to the contrary effect for their conformity with idolators, or going on in a course which had a tendency at least that way. The first who publickly entered into covenant was the preacher in that town, Master Vesey, who did solemnly acknowledge the sin of the black oath, and the cursed course of conformity with the former times. Such was the day of God's power on men's consciences. For this man proved not sound or steadfast thereafter, nor ever joined with the presbytery, and upon the restoration of bishops did again conform to episcopacy, and died archbishop of Tuam. (43)

43 Adair is inaccurate here. It was the son of this 'Master Thomas Vesey' who became an archbishop. His name was John Vesey, born at Coleraine in 1637, made bishop of Limerick in 1672, and archbishop of Tuam in 1678. He died in 1716, and was the author of the 'Life of Bramhall' referred to in vol. i. note 25, p. 172. The first preferment enjoyed by

"Next, the whole people of the country present did solemnly acknowledge the oath, and by lifting up hands to God entered into the solemn league and covenant, with which were mixed prayers and singing of psalms after the ordinary exercise of preaching was over. There were few of the townsmen who entered into the covenant the first day; but they gave the ministers knowledge that their purpose was on Monday to enter into it. The ministers, first commending them for their deliberate way of doing such a thing, observed the Monday, and received them into covenant, both the mayor and others of the town, they desiring to do it by themselves; but so that, in their entering into the covenant, they did abjure their former corruptions, and renounce them. So did the ministers and people of Route, who all of them convened in two places, Billy and Dunluce; in the one was Mr. Adair, and in the other was Mr. Weir, where the former ministers followed the same way with others before them, and the people also. Mr. Adair and Mr. Weir took occasion, from the ministers' repentance, to show the people in public how dangerous it was to credit ministers without ground from scripture.

"But as this work had little or no resistance hitherto appearing, so now some were stirred up against it. Colonel Mervyn began occasionally coming to Coleraine and reflecting upon the people taking the covenant, and had almost discouraged and dissuaded some who were upon the way of taking it. Then one Mr. Philips about Ballycastle [at Newtonlimavady] set himself against it, and did endeavour to dissuade the garrison thereabout from it. And Sir Robert Stewart, with Mr. Humphrey Galbraith, were using the same endeavours about Derry, having heard that the ministers, upon invitation from some people, were coming there.

Thomas Vesey appears to have been the rectories of Ballyscullin and Maghera, to which he was admitted in December 1629. In September 1634 he exchanged livings with the Rev. John Freeman, rector of Camus or Strabane. It is probable he was obliged, at the breaking out of the rebellion, to take refuge at Coleraine, vacant by the death of the former minister, Mr Redshaw. First Fruits Records. See also vol. i. p. 330.

"But a greater opposition met them from Derry. For coming the length of the Muff, they received a message and letter from the mayor of Derry, one Thornton, and from colonel Mervyn, prohibiting their coming there upon their peril. Yet they, considering they had invitation from a well affected people to go there, and that God had signally appeared for them in carrying on that work in all places they had been in, went forward, not intimating to their company their discouragements. Whereupon their convoy leaving them, they went on, and being met by captain Lawson (one of those who had invited them), they were brought over the ferry to his house,(44) which was without the wall, not knowing how to enter the town. But Providence appeared for them; for Sir Frederick Hamilton, a bold man, and one of great interest in that country, then occasionally being in Derry, came to the wall and sent for them, and brought them unto the gates to his own house, much encouraging them, and commending their resolution in coming forward, notwithstanding the threatenings they received. As they went toward his lodging through the streets, there seemed to be a commotion among the people, some by their countenance and carriage declaring their indignation, some their affection.(45) Others were surprised at the so sudden coming of

[44] This is the same person whose gallantry saved Lisburn and Belfast at the breaking out of the rebellion. See vol. i. pp. 315-317.

[45] What is here said of the state of popular feeling in Derry at this crisis is confirmed by Carte. Mervyn the governor, and Thornton the mayor, were the creatures of Ormond and the warm partizans of prelacy; and as they repressed with violence every demonstration of the inhabitants, who were chiefly presbyterians, in favour of the Scottish church, a strong re-action was the necessary result. Carte thus writes respecting Mervyn: "The marquis of Ormonde confiding in his loyalty, and considering him as a man of a voluble tongue, popular in his country, and capable of doing service, made him governor of Derry. As soon as he had taken possession of his government, he joined with the mayor in writing to the preaching ministers a letter desiring them to forbear visiting that place, which was but too much disposed to receive the covenant. The town was full of factious and seditious persons, who had on former occasions tore the book of common prayer, and thrown libels about the streets, threatening every body who should dare

these worthy men; for Providence ordered it that they came before they could be expected, and it was then told them by Sir Frederick, that he heard there were ways used for laying wait for them by the way, and using violence to them. Sir Frederick did commend them for their policy, in preventing the time they knew they might be expected; but they referred it wholly to divine conduct, for they neither imagined nor knew any such thing; and so he, after they had supped with him in another house near his lodging, left them. They were much encouraged and refreshed by the experience of God's leading them that day.

"Next day, the mayor and aldermen, who were also town-captains, came to their lodging, reminding them that he had written to them the day before not to come there, lest they bred division in the garrison and town. They told him [Thornton] they came for a happy union in that division, and they were so far on their way before they received his letter, that they could not with any conveniency return. He questioned them, by what authority they came there with the covenant? They answered, first, upon a petition from the British in the north of Ireland for ministers to come and visit them from the assembly of Scotland; secondly, that the assembly had given them commission to give the covenant to the Scotch army, and others who willingly should receive it; thirdly, that upon a petition from the British of Ulster to the states of Scotland, desiring help in divers things, particularly in victualling and ammunition for Derry, which they desired earnestly, and, above all, also the solemn

to use it; so that the mayor, when he went to church, was forced to take a strong guard of English soldiers of his own company, and plant them about the reader's desk, to secure himself from being insulted, and the book from being tore (as they threatened) before his face." Carte, i. 492.—The mayor was indeed very obnoxious to the Scots, as appears from a paper among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' library, Edinburgh, which, as it furnishes several incidental illustrations of the state of the country, and especially of the city of Derry, at this period, and has never been printed, I have inserted in the Appendix, No.V. Mervyn afterwards deserted Ormond's party, and took the covenant.

league and covenant to be sent over to them. Unto which as the states of Scotland had respect, according to their capacity, to the rest of their desires, so particularly unto this in these words: 'And the committee of estates do embrace their desire to enter into the covenant, and will take care to send the same to general-major Monro, to be presented both to the Scotch army and the British, as a firm ground of their union in this cause.'

"The ministers did return to the mayor a copy of this order, subscribed by the clerk's hand. He answered, that was no legal warrant for them to take the covenant. They replied, these things put together, there was a sufficient ground for them to offer it, though they would press it upon none, and 'volenti non fit injuria,' since themselves by petition had sought it, and there were also letters from the parliament of England to the same purpose. It could not be offensive, nor a wronging the people, to offer that to them which themselves had petitioned for, being a thing in itself so lawful, and recommended by the states of Scotland with the parliament of England, binding them to their duty both to God and the king. Notwithstanding all which, the mayor did request them to forbear administering the covenant in that place. They again did entreat him to suffer them publicly to proceed. He answered them, he would command, if they would not forbear for entreaty. They replied, 'Would he command?' Meantime Sir Frederick comes into the room (who had, unknown to them, made much way for that business in these parts before they came), and in great boldness and animosity, according to his manner, said to the mayor, 'Mr. Mayor, take heed of what you do or speak to these gentlemen.' Likewise a lieutenant present, and belonging to the town companies, did express his resolution to take the covenant in a daring way. So that the mayor replied no more to the ministers, but that he would take it to advisement and see them in the afternoon. However, the double guards, which had been placed in the town, were ordered as before; and colonel Mervyn's regiment, which

was making toward the town, did return to their quarters, and the gates which had been shut were opened again. In the afternoon the mayor sent captain Hepburn to the ministers to desire a conference with them in his own chamber, where they attended him. There he shewed them a letter from the parliament of England, recommending to them the taking of the covenant when it should come to the Scotch army; and withal a proclamation by those who then ruled in Dublin prohibiting the taking of it, and declared his great straits what to choose. Whereunto the ministers answered, that he should lay the balance; on the one hand, the gracious purpose of the parliament of England for their true good, together with the hopes of support from them and from Scotland, and their brotherly affection, desiring to be in one league and covenant with them; and on the other hand, the corrupt disposition of those who then ruled in Dublin, with the experience they had found of their small help, or what could be expected from them.

"And so the ministers left him, and received another discouraging letter from Sir Robert Stewart, sent by major Galbraith; however, the ministers sent for the keys of the church against the next Sabbath. The mayor told them the sacrament was then to be administered in the great church, but they might have the little church that day, and should have the other the next; but the ministers finding the little church not sufficient to contain the number of people there met, went to the market-place (where, about two [four] years before, the mass had been publicly used by some Irish regiments who were to be sent to Scotland against the [national] covenant), and there preached on the subject of taking God's people into covenant, declaring the divine authority of it; whereunto was added the exemplary encouragement of two sister churches, England and Scotland, entering into it. They also spoke from 2 Chr. xv. 15. Jer. l. 5, and Neh. ix. 10, paralleling the cases then in hand, both as to the persons entering into the covenant, and the case of the time requiring reformation and preservation of religion, which was engaged unto

in the covenant; and explaining the covenant as it rendered all secure, both what was proper to them and what was due to God. They also laboured to make the people sensible of the sin of the black oath, shewing that by engaging to obey all the king's royal commands (the contents of the oath) they had opened a door for the prince to bring in whatever religion he pleased, if it were the Turk's religion; and had deprived themselves of the liberty of passive obedience, which they said was 'ipso facto' a protestation against the iniquity of the command; for a royal command is whatsoever the king commands, whether it be lawful or not, as appears in Daniel, VI. 7. The ministers required, that all who were thus sensible of this evil, and who now resolved to enter into covenant by lifting up their hands and countenances should abjure the one and enter into the other, which was done with many tears by the multitude there; and thereafter, prayer was performed with great solemnity and affection, both in speaker and hearers, wherein they owned God as their God, and gave up themselves to him. This was on the Lord's day [April 25]; and the mayor and others coming from their sacrament, stood somewhat amazed, yet with reverence did behold what was a-doing in the market-place. The Lord's day being thus spent, the ministers desired the keys of the church on Monday, which were sent them; the bells were rung, and the multitude, both from town and country, increased that day more than on the former, whereon the happy condition of a sanctified and true union was the subject insisted on. A great many more, and some persons of quality from the country, did embrace the covenant with much signs of affection; and thereafter, according to the usual way, much time was spent in subscribing it.

"The ministers, having been blessed in Derry against much discouragement and opposition in the beginning, went the next day to Raphoe, accompanied by Sir John Cunningham and lieutenant-colonel Saundérson (who had taken it in Derry), with many others. There the whole regiment of Sir Robert Stewart did meet them (except himself), and great

multitudes from the parishes about. They followed the same way here, and had the same success which they had formerly in other places; the one was necessitated to preach without the church when the other was within, and receive the people to covenant with the same solemnity. There were too curates, one Leslie and Watson, who did oppose and reason against the covenant before the people, especially as to the abjuring of episcopacy, &c. But it was to the advantage of the cause, for the men's weakness did much appear before the people; and understanding gentlemen said, that the solemn dispute appeared to them as an assize wherein the bishops were, as by a jury, found guilty and cast.

"From that they went to Letterkenny, where the most part of Sir William Stewart's regiment, and many others of that part, entered. From that they went to Ray, where, on the Lord's day [May 5], the multitude was so great that the one of the ministers was forced to be without when the other was within the church; where two ministers among the other multitude did abjure the black oath and conformity, and entered into the covenant before the people; the ministers keeping their former method in explaining, proving, and answering objections against the covenant. From that, on Monday, they went to Taboin [St. Johnston], being in the centre of the country, where an extraordinary number of people were met from all places, some fifteen miles off, both who had not taken the covenant in order to take it, and who had taken it to be further confirmed; and the ministers here made it their work to do both. Here Sir Robert Stewart himself began to draw nearer, and confer with the ministers about the covenant, his whole regiment having been entered into it before, and some more ministers. There came a letter from general-major Monroe to the ministers, and another to the mayor of Derry, which, when he read, he said to some covenanters with him, 'Now I will be as arrant a covenanter as any of you!' They come next to Ramelton, (46) where

[46] The name of this town is omitted in Adair's MS. and a blank left. From

they received the rest of Sir William Stewart's regiment and very many of colonel Mervyn's, contrary to his threatenings; also one who opposed the covenant at Raphoe, Mr. Watson, being the most judicious, did now come in and confess his errors, and entered into it with apparent ingenuousness.

"From these places they returned to Derry, where Sir Robert Stewart, colonel Mervyn, and major James Galbraith, came now to hear the ministers preach and explain the covenant; where the ministers, hearing of some of their scruples, answered them in public. Divers ministers also were present then, and publicly renounced their former errors, desiring to enter into the covenant; but some of them speaking ambiguously anent church government, and churches, and magistrates' power to make laws, the ministers put them to explain themselves fully before they would admit them; and took occasion to clear before the people the limits of divine, human, and church power, and things of that nature; and withal, whenever they received ministers into the covenant, they declared to the people publicly that these ministers were not thereby properly made capable of exercising their ministry, if there were other considerations to hinder their exercising it, such as insufficiency, &c. and that if judged competent, they might and should have their own way of admitting them to the exercise of the ministry according to the churches' order.

"The garrison of British at Enniskillen had sent to the ministers, earnestly desiring they would come and administer the covenant to them; which the ministers delaying to answer, that garrison sent again, and told them, if they would not come to them, they would leave that and come to them [the ministers] to take the covenant; there being then a general inclination that way among the most part of people, even among those who were ignorant of religion or unfriendly to it; even some of the Irish who had come in

From its locality, however, and several other circumstances, there can be no doubt it was Ramelton, and I have accordingly inserted this name in the text.

under protection offered themseves, partly through fear and terror, and considerations of that kind, though many did it with great affection and sincerity. And the ministers did caveat in administering that solemn oath, as much as possible, in receiving such a multitude in so short a time, who thought they were in that case over scrupulous. However, they were difficulted in this matter; for to go there [to Enniskillen] wanted not hazard, many enemies being between and that place; and for the garrison to come to them would be dangerous for it, the country about being full of the rebels not yet subdued, and they having daily skirmishes with them. However the ministers, after calling on God for direction, did resolve to venture themseves, as they had done in other cases; and had found much of the Providence of God preserving them, and his assistance with them in helping them in their work, and much blessing following on their endeavours. Meantime, the mayor of Derry, with some few who had waited on his motions, did desire them to stay a day or two till he could take the covenant. But they, not finding ground for the delay, went to take their horse; which he hearing, came after them, and entreated them, before their departure, to go to church, and administer the covenant to him and these few others, which they did. Sir Robert Stewart also declaring his resolution to take the covenant, only put it off upon some considerable reason alleged by him for that time.

"After this they went towards Enniskillen; and the first night to Clady, where the two troops belonging to Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart did meet them, to convey them to Enniskillen without hazard. And the worthy gentleman, colonel Saunderson, went along with them; as at that time the generality of the officers of these regiments were both most respective to their persons, and instrumental in promoting the work they were about. They came along to Enniskillen without sight of an enemy. For the Irish, who were protected, hearing the covenant was coming that way,

fled because they heard that the covenant was to extirpate all papists, and was against protecting them. And some so suddenly fled that they left their stolen goods, which they used to steal and send privately to the enemy, who then lay in the county of Cavan. Likewise the enemy in these parts near about, hearing the covenant was coming, which, as they understood, was against the cessation of arms with them, they did beat drums through their quarters, and marched bag and baggage thirty miles into the country.

"However, the ministers were very kindly received by lieutenant-colonel Atcheson, of Sir William Cole's regiment; and all took the covenant except one poor ignorant minister, and Sir William Cole himself, who said he would take it upon further consideration. However his whole family took it. Besides, divers garrisons thereabouts, as Beleek and Ballyshannon, took the covenant; which kept the ministers two days at their usual work. They then returned, accompanied with Sir William Cole and the strength of his own troop, together with the other two troops, toward Derry; wherein one of the ministers stayed 'per vices,' and the other in the country for a little time. Mr. Adair being in Derry, colonel Mervyn came usually to hear; and thereafter proposed his scruples, upon some evil considerations, upon the fourth article of the covenant, which were answered; yet he did not seem satisfied at that time. But, within a few days, he wrote to Mr. Adair to come to Ramelton, where the rendezvous of his whole regiment was to be, and he with them would enter into covenant. This appointment Mr. Adair kept, where colonel Mervyn, with the whole officers, solemnly declared their satisfaction in the covenant, and entered into it: which while they were doing, the soldiers who had taken it before cried out, 'Welcome, welcome, colonel!' From this Mr. Adair returned with colonel Mervyn to Derry, being entertained with no small courtesy, and protestations of forwardness for the covenant thereafter.

"The ministers, to close the work at Derry, did celebrate the Lord's supper publicly in the great church, where the altar was removed to give place to the Lord's table, and God appeared most sensibly and comfortably in that administration, by the power of his Spirit on ministers and people. All things were done with as much order as was possible in such a case. No scandalous or unknown person was admitted, and the gravest gentlemen in the town and regiments attended the tables. After this work the ministers, accompanied by special friends, came to the water-side to captain Lawson's house, where, kneeling down, they commended the people to God. They came that night to Ballycastle, near Newtonlimavady, where were numbers of people wait-on them to take the covenant, which accordingly was administered to them. From that they came to Coleraine, where Sir Robert Stewart, meeting them with general-major Munroe, did the next day publicly enter into the covenant, together with some few others who had delayed it till that time. So also did Sir William Cole at Carrickfergus, in his passage for England.

"From this, the ministers returned to the congregations of Antrim and Down, where the covenant had been before administered; partly confirming the people who had entered into it already; partly administering it to some who had not taken it before, among whom was the Lord of Ards. Thereafter they did administer the communion [Sabbath, June 23,] in Newton-ards, Holywood, and Ballywalter, in which three places Mr. Adair, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Hamilton (who all this time had staid in these parts,) did divide themselves for this work. Mr. M'Clelland, [minister of Kirkcudbright,] being then come to the country by commission, did also join in celebrating the communion, and those who were ministers in the army and country concurred.—About this time, upon a supplication from many in Belfast to the presbytery for erecting a session there, it was recommended to Mr. Adair to perform it; which was accordingly done in July."

This lengthened though interesting detail exhibits with great clearness the manner in which the solemn league and covenant was taken in Ulster. In this country it had, strictly speaking, no legal authority, having never received the sanction of the Irish parliament; nor was its adoption the public and authoritative act of the nation. Owing, perhaps, to this circumstance, it was tendered with unexampled forbearance and circumspection. Whatever may have been the intolerance with which, it is alleged, it was elsewhere enforced, no such charge can justly be preferred against those who administered it in Ireland. It is scarcely possible to conceive how a public engagement could be proposed with greater caution, or pressed with less constraint. Its terms were clearly and carefully explained; the people were not only afforded due time for deliberation, but were recommended to use great circumspection; objections were fairly met and fully answered; the utmost indulgence was shown to those who opposed it; and, instead of its being imposed on all indiscriminately, no persons were permitted to enter into it until they understood its nature and obligations; and those who had been ensnared into the black oath were previously required to profess their repentance, and solemnly to abjure that unconstitutional engagement.

The covenant produced the same effects in Ulster which it had already done in the other parts of the empire. It ascertained and united the friends of civil and religious liberty, and inspired them with fresh confidence in the arduous struggle in which they were engaged. It diffused extensively through the province a strong feeling of attachment to the presbyterian cause. It opened the way for the introduction of the presbyterian church into districts where it had been previously opposed; and facilitated its re-establishment in places where it had been violently overthrown. But, what was of still higher moment, the covenant revived the cause of true religion and piety, which had lamentably declined under the iron sway of the prelates, and amidst the distractions and discouragements of intestine war. From

this period may be dated the commencement of the SECOND REFORMATION with which this province has been favoured; a reformation discernible, not only in the rapid increase of churches, and of faithful and zealous ministers, but still more unequivocally manifested in the improving manners and habits of society, and in the growing attention of the people to religious duties and ordinances.

CHAPTER XI.

Ministers who tendered the covenant return to Scotland—Second escape of the earl of Antrim—His ships take Weir and Hamilton on their passage home—Account of their capture and imprisonment—Death of Mr. Weir—Mr. Hamilton at length liberated—The presbytery meet at Bangor—Send a third petition to the general assembly—Their letter on that occasion—ministers commissioned by the assembly to visit Ulster—Parliament places the British regiments under Monro—Who takes possession of Belfast—And marches against O'Neill—Skirmishes at Tandragee and Charlemont—Negociations at Oxford between the king and the Romanist commissioners—And at Uxbridge between the king and the parliamentary commissioners—Trial and execution of Laud—The directory sanctioned by parliament—Other ecclesiastical reforms—Treaty at Uxbridge broken off—Charles commissions Glamorgan to conclude a private treaty with the Romanists—Ormond endeavours to conciliate the Ulster Scots—Their privations and murmurs—Officers meet at Antrim—Afterwards take Sligo—Discovery of Glamorgan's private treaty—Arrival of commissioners from the parliament—They favour the presbytery—Diligence and fidelity of the latter—A pretended presbytery set up in the county of Antrim—Proceedings respecting it—Commissioners sent for a fourth time to the general assembly.

THE presbyterians of Ulster are deeply indebted to the ministers who, at this critical period, administered the covenant to their ancestors. Neither deterred by the proclamations of the royalist party on the one hand, nor intimidated by the menaces of the Roman catholic confederates on the other, those faithful men ventured into this distracted country, and prosecuted their hazardous labours animated by a zeal as disinterested as it was fervent. They had no personal advantages to acquire; while they encountered many perils, and were obliged to undergo many fatiguing and dan-

gerous journeys. It is true they met with no opposition while engaged in executing their commission. But though permitted to close their labours in Ulster in safety, severe trials awaited their return. "After all this, the holy wise providence of God so ordered it, that these worthy men immediately met with sad troubles, lest they should be exalted above measure upon this great work wherein God had assisted them so signally. Mr. Adair fell into a long and dangerous fever, and relapsed again at Newton-ards, and thereafter in Stranraer, as he was going home. But Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Weir met with a sorer trouble." (1)

The trials to which those two ministers were now exposed originated out of the following circumstances. The earl of Antrim did not continue long in prison. Though strictly guarded in the castle of Carrickfergus, he once more succeeded in effecting his escape. He had been committed to the custody of captain James Wallace, a truly christian officer, to whom frequent references will be subsequently made in these pages. With him was associated, as his lieutenant, another officer named Gordon, who, by the following stratagem, facilitated the escape of Antrim:—"This lieutenant Gordon craftily conveyed up, unespied, in his breeches certain tows [ropes], by the whilk the earl escaped, and wan freely away, to Wallace's great grief; and the lieutenant followed and fled also. His escape was wrought in October, whereat Major Monro leugh not a word." (2) An-

[1] Adair's MS.

[2] Spalding's Troubles, p. 358. Spalding calls this officer 'son to Sir Alexander Gordon and uncle to the now earl of Sutherland,' and consequently brother to the preceding earl. He is the same person, therefore, who is mentioned in the following extract from "Gordon's History of the House of Sutherland," page 511; which I subjoin, as it furnishes the reason for this officer's conniving at the escape of Antrim:—"In the beginning of the year 1643, captain George Gordon (the earl of Sutherland's brother) staid himself a while in Ireland with his other company there in general Leslie's regiment; during which time he married lady Rose Macdonald, the daughter of Randal earl of Antrim, [and sister to the earl, his prisoner] in the year of God 1643, and was afterwards made lieut.-colonel there." See also Lodge, i. 207.

trim made his way directly to O'Neill at Charlemont; thence he proceeded to Kilkenny to confer with the confederates; and afterwards to the king at Oxford, where he arrived in the end of the year. Here he completed his arrangements for carrying into effect the enterprise, which had been partially disclosed in the papers found on him, when taken prisoner in May; and the object of which was to assist Montrose to excite a commotion in the north of Scotland, in favour of the declining cause of Charles. For this purpose Antrim—on whom the king now conferred the dignity of a marquis—agreed to supply Montrose with two thousand native Irish, chiefly those who were then in arms in Flanders, and who, "from the affinity of language, manners, and origin, were expected to be well-qualified to co-operate with highlanders." (3) The first draught of this stipulated number, under the command of Alaster Macdonnell, the noted Colkittagh, (4) and protected by a frigate, were on their way to Argyleshire, when, unfortunately, on the third of July they fell in with the vessel in which the Rev. Messrs. Hamilton and Weir, with many other passengers, were returning to Scotland. They were immediately taken prisoners by Colkittagh. (5) The ministers, with a few of the more respectable passengers, were removed on board the frigate, where they were detained until he had effected a landing on the island of Ardnamurchan, which the following extract from a contemporary annalist shows he soon accomplished:—

[3] Laing, iii. 258.

[4] See vol. i. p. 314.

[5] So soon as Ormond heard of the capture of these ministers he was anxious to get Hamilton into his custody, that, when liberated, he might be exchanged for some friend of his own. He thus writes from Dublin, under date of July 17, 1644, to Lord Digby, then with Charles:—"The ships that ply up and down between Scotland and Ireland have taken some prizes and many passengers; among them two of the ministers that came to preach the covenant here; the late lord Clandeboy's nephew, Master John [James] Hamilton, is one of them. Him I shall endeavour to get into my hands, and if his majesty shall please to suffer him to be exchanged, I humbly desire it may be for a friend of mine taken prisoner in his service." Carte, iii. 3 8.

"This mighty Montrose, having gotten the king's patent to go upon the covenanting rebels in Scotland with fire and sword, and either bring them under subjection and obedience, or otherwise destroy them all, their lives, lands, and goods, gives order to this Alaster M'Donald to ship his soldiers and land them in Ardnamurchan, an island belonging to Argyll, and destroy his country, and promised to meet him in Scotland. M'Donald takes the sea, and the eighth of July lands in the foresaid isle of Ardnamurchan, plunders the haill goods and gear, kills the inhabitants, and burns the haill country; takes in a strong castle, and mans the samen with all provision necessary." (6) To this castle, called Meagrie or Mingarie castle, situated on the eastern coast of the island, he removed his prisoners, and committed them to close and rigorous confinement. Here they suffered incredible hardships; until at length Mr. Weir, worn out with long confinement, fell sick, and being destitute of every necessary accommodation, his strength rapidly declined; and, after lingering a few weeks, he died. The following interesting notices of the capture and imprisonment of these brethren, and of the character and death of Mr. Weir, were written at the time by his fellow-sufferer, Mr. Hamilton, and are now for the first time published from an authentic manuscript. (7)

"All that knew Mr. Weir from a child of ten years or thereby, might have discerned in him a perpetual preparation for death by his grave and holy behaviour. But when our Lord saw his time of departure approach, he set him apart in a marvellous manner to make himself ready for eternity.

6 Spalding, p. 430.

7 MSS. Bib. Jurid. Edin. Rob. iii. 6, 1, No. 24. Mr. Weir had kept a private diary of his religious experience while in confinement. At his death this document was given to Mr. Hamilton, who wrote it out, and added to it the notices given in the text, with this preface:—"Having written out such observations as were written by Mr. John Weir in his imprisonment, that I found with him at his death, and having continued his diurnals till the day of his burial, I have thought fit to give some observations anent his death also."

"For, first, according to the appointment of the general assembly held at Edinburgh 1643, he went to Ireland and spent three months in painful preaching of the gospel, viz. all April, May, and June 1644, almost every day. He laboured in spreading the covenant of God with Mr. William Adair, minister at Ayr, who together persuaded the people to embrace the said covenant in Carrickfergus, Antrim, Coleraine, Derry, Raphoe, and Enniskillen, and in all the country churches which lay about there, the Lord working mightily with them. In the time of his travell in Ireland he helped to give the communion at Derry with Mr. William Adair; at Newton, in the county of Down [June 23] with Mr. John M'Clelland; and at Killileagh[June 30] with Mr. James Hamilton. In those two places he gave the communion upon the last two sabbaths of his being in Ireland, God seeing it meet to make him take a double meal because the journey was great before him, and he was to go in the strength of that food to the mountain of the Lord. Upon the second day of July, which was the last day wherein he was in Ireland, he preached at Donaghadee on Hebrews, twelfth chapter, and three first verses; the matter of which sermon did much refresh him in all his sufferings afterward. Upon the same second of July, as he was returning from Ireland with his wife, master James Hamilton, minister at Dumfries, master David Watson, father-in-law to the said master James, (8) with master Thomas Johnson, preacher, and many other passengers, were taken prisoners at sea by a

[8] This Rev. David Watson was minister of Killeavy near Newry. Mr. Hamilton married his daughter Elizabeth, "who had been placed with the noble Lady Claneboy for her improvement sake. He had by her fifteen children, though none came to maturity but one son Archibald, and three daughters, Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth."—Hamilton MSS. in possession of the family of the late Archibald Hamilton Rowan of Killileagh Castle, esq.; a few extracts from which were kindly communicated to me by counsellor Lowry of Killileagh. The above son Archibald was long a leading minister of the presbyterian church in Ireland. He was ordained at Benburb about the year 1668: thence he was removed to Armagh in 1673; and finally, in 1693 to Killinchy, where he died in 1699.

Wexford frigate called 'The Harp,' wherein was Alaster Macdonell, general-major to Antrim's forces, coming along with three ships more, full of soldiers, to invade Scotland. The said Alaster determined to keep the said prisoners till he could get his father, Coll-Macgillespie, alias Colkittagh, and his two sons, brethren to said Alaster, relieved for them. Wherefore he took seven of the said prisoners aboard in the frigate, leaving the rest in the prize whence these seven were taken, viz. Mr. David Watson, Mr. John Weir and his wife, Mr. James Hamilton, William Hamilton of Glasgow, William Irving of Dumfries, and Archibald Bruce, a dweller beside Hamilton. (9) These seven were kept prisoners in the said frigate till the fifteenth day of July at night. They got not liberty jointly to exercise worship together; but every one did, as he best might, apart: only they had now and then conferences of what they read, for their Bibles were spared to them by the good providence of God. And also when the frigate was pursuing any bark or boat, the said prisoners, being all closed under decks and alone, took opportunity to pray together. Upon the said fifteenth of July, the said prisoners were carried from the said frigate to Castle Meagrie, and were all put in one chamber together.

"Every day twice, the said Mr. Weir and Mr. James Hamilton did both of them expound a psalm, or a part of a psalm, the one praying before and the other after the said exposition. This they did in the hearing of those other fellow-prisoners which were above named, so long as they were together, which was till the twenty-third of September, in

9 In another MS. in the Advocates' Library which I have consulted, and from which an extract is afterwards given, the number of prisoners taken into the frigate is said to be eight, and the name of Thomas Johnson is added to those stated in the text. William Hamilton is described as a merchant in Glasgow; William Irving, as a young merchant in Dumfries; and Archibald Bruce, as an indweller at Mirrietown near Hamilton. The total number of passengers captured is stated to be forty, all Scots. In every other respect the statements in the text are corroborated by the testimony of this additional MS.

which time they had proceeded in expounding to the eighty-first psalm."

During their confinement, their sufferings were much increased by an unsuccessful attempt of the marquis of Argyle to obtain possession of the place. "He sent a party to beleagure the castle, thinking to liberate the prisoners with strong hand, but that attempt failed him; for after that he had, for seven weeks together, beleagured it, his captain was forced to give over and leave the castle and prisoners in it, who, during the time of this siege, suffered incredible hunger and thirst, having nothing to drink but the rain-water that fell from Heaven on the bartisans of the castle, which they were forced, because of the thick mud, to seethe through their teeth, they winking all the while, for they could not look upon the green glut that was with it; and their meat was for most part unground rye, which they were sometimes forced to grind betwixt two slate stones for their extreme hunger. Much misery they suffered all the time of their captivity; but all was nothing, in respect of these seven weeks during which the castle was beleagured." (10)

Though Macdonell had successfully repulsed this attempt of Argyle, yet, finding the maintenance of eight prisoners too heavy a burden, he took steps to rid himself of a part of them. On the third of September he liberated Mrs. Weir, she being then near her confinement; and on the twenty-third, the three merchants, Messrs. W. Hamilton, Irving, and Bruce "were relieved on bond and caution for paying their ransom; and master Thomas Johnson was also relieved because he had no charge in Scotland, though he had been a minister in Ireland. The three ministers, to wit, masters J. Hamilton, Watson, and Weir, are kept close; and Alaster gave strict orders, that upon no condition any of them should be let free; for he resolved that they should liberate his father old Colkittagh, and his two brethren Archibald and

10 This extract is from the MS. referred to in the preceding note. MSS. Bib. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 7, 8, page 453.

Angus, that were then prisoners, taken by Argyll; but the marquis, carrying a great indignation against all the clan, specially against old Coll, would not liberate them." (11) Their captivity, therefore, assumed a very hopeless aspect. No prospect of relief appeared, and their spirits began to despond; but the consoling truths of that gospel, which they had so faithfully preached, sustained them, and 'though their flesh and their heart failed, God was the strength of their heart, and their portion for ever.' It was at this period that Mr. Weir became indisposed. On the second of October he first complained of sickness; and on the sixteenth he died, "with great peace and joy," in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Mr. Hamilton, and his father-in-law, Mr. Watson, were left alone, and spent a gloomy winter in that secluded and cheerless castle. Mr. Watson sunk under his sufferings, and died in the month of March following; but Mr. Hamilton was graciously preserved, until, after many efforts on the part both of the general assembly and the Scottish parliament to procure the release of this esteemed minister (12) he was at length, by an exchange of prisoners, liberated on the second of May 1645, after an imprisonment of ten months. (13)

11 MSS. Bib. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 7, 8, *ut supra.*

12 I find the following entry, relative to Hamilton's release, in the Minutes of the general assembly which met at Edinburgh in January 1645: "10th February. The general assembly having taken to their serious consideration the lamentable condition of their loving brother, master James Hamilton, now in captivity with the rebels, do therefore most humbly desire the hon^ble estates of parliament to take some speedy and effectual course for his relief; and do hereby require the commissioners to be appointed by this assembly for public affairs, to be diligent upon all occasions for craving a satisfactory answer to their desire from the estates of parliament; and if it shall be necessary, that they send in new petitions to the parliament for release of our said brother aye and while his release be obtained."—The widow of the deceased Mr. Weir at the same time petitioned the assembly, whereon they made this entry: "Concerning the petition given in by the relict of umwhile Mr. John Weir, who died in captivity with the rebels, the assembly doth seriously recommend the same to the honourable estates of parliament." MSS. Arch. Ecc. Scot.

13 As some of my readers may probably take an interest in the circum-

While in Ireland, prior to this afflicting captivity, Hamilton's labours were, in a great measure, confined to the county of Down. His former parish at Ballywalter was a special object of his ministerial care. Towards the close of his stay in Ulster, he presided as moderator in a meeting of the presbytery at Bangor on the twenty-fifth of May 1644, when a THIRD petition from the presbyterians of the province to the general assembly about to meet in Edinburgh, was submitted to the court for their approbation and sanction. The presbytery accordingly addressed to the assembly the following recommendatory letter, containing important information respecting the religious condition of the north-eastern parts of Ulster at this period. Having never been published before, it is entitled to a place in these pages.

"Right Reverend,

"The inhabitants of these two counties of Down and Antrim have not only acquainted us with their most necessary petition, which cometh along to the venerable assembly, but also have requested us to express their necessity, and what we know of their condition (as times now go), that may most prevail with you for obtaining of their suit.

"The persons of age and understanding in these parts, who have already embraced the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms with much zeal and forwardness, are above sixteen thousand, besides those of the Scottish forces that are among them; and there are only two actual ministers in all these bounds (being above fifty miles in length and twelve in breadth), who have joined themselves to our presbytery and adhere to our discipline in all things. Others, who some time were ministers, do either yet adhere to the old

stances accompanying the release of Hamilton, whose name has been so intimately connected with the history of our church from its earliest period, I have given in the Appendix, No. VI. a narrative of his liberation, taken from an authentic MS. in the Advocates' Library, together with an account of the subsequent vicissitudes of his life, and a sketch of his character, extracted from the Hamilton MSS. *ut supra.*

course of conformity and the wicked oath; or, renouncing them, are not as yet trusted by their flocks, so as to commit their souls to their charge, by reason of their former forwardness to conformity when the same was pressed, and when their brethren and most zealous neighbours and parishioners were suffering in opposition thereto.

"The opposition that the present work of God in this land hath from the states in Dublin is very great; for they have lately discharged taking the covenant by proclamation and letters both from state and parliament; and there are three whole regiments of English, with their countrymen, among whom they quarter in these counties, very much addicted to conformity and bent against the covenant for most part. Of these many are judicious; and being in their own kind wiser than divers of these who cleave to the purity of the gospel, are very persuading, and of ability to shake the stedfastness of the people by their words and speeches, so that our people had need of helpful men against such tentations.

"Of the ministers of the regiments here, two are in the utmost borders of the county of Antrim, even at Coleraine and the Route, and three are not in this kingdom now; so that there are but three ministers of the regiments in all to join with the commissioners from Scotland, and with the two foresaid ministers of the country, in discipline, which makes our presbytery very weak, and the people's necessity not so supplied as their need requires every way, especially when the army is in the fields.

"We may assure you, that, unless the reverend brethren from Scotland, whom the last general assembly sent over, and for whom the petitioners are exceeding thankful, had taken much pains here, both the army and the inhabitants had removed themselves thence, and left the land for a free habitation to the bloody and barbarous idolaters.

"And seeing the Lord of Hosts hath left to himself a remnant as a precious seed to embrace the covenant, and that by your special pains and means in taking care to send over such as might have regard to the work here, their humble

desire is, and ours for them, that it may please you not only to continue your wonted bounty, but also to add thereto, as their greater number, necessity, and trials exceedingly require for the happy progress of the Lord's work here, as the great Lord of the harvest (whose work it is) shall in his infinite wisdom and goodness direct you; to whom commending you all in all your consultations, and this particularly, we are your loving brethren and most humble servants in Christ." (14)

Mr. William Mackenna, merchant in Belfast, who had once before been employed on a similar mission, (15) was appointed to lay the general petition from the presbyterians of Ulster, with the accompanying letter from the presbytery, before the assembly at Edinburgh. On the thirtieth of May both these documents were introduced and read. In the former, the subscribers, who were very numerous, thus expressed their gratitude to their Scottish brethren, " for your zeale," say they, " and care to have your reformation spred amongst other opprest and borne-down churches, whereof you have given an ample and famous testimony in sending hither that blessed league and covenant which wee much desired and longed for, as by our petitions to the church and state of our native kingdome is knowne unto you, which hath had a wished and gracious successe by the favour and blessing of God, accompanying the pains of these to whom the tendering thereof was intrusted by you." (16) Together with these expressions of gratitude to their brethren of the assembly, they made honourable mention of the liberality of the people of Holland in the seasonable supplies of provisions which they had sent to Ulster. " The Lord," say they, " hath opened the

[14] MSS. Arch. Ecc. Scot. This letter is signed " in name of the presbytery of the Scottish forces in Ireland, and at their command," by Mr. James Hamilton, *moderator*, and Mr. James Baty, *clerk to the presbytery*; and is dated, " From our presbyterial meeting at Bangor, 25 May 1644."

[15] Vol. i. p. 394.

[16] Printed Acts of Assembly, 12mo, 1682, p. 215.

bowels of the churches of Holland, who were strangers to us, and yet dear brethren and tender sympathisers with our afflictions and sorrows; who, when these who were left of the sword were in danger to dye by famine, did plentifully relieve us in our straits, not onely by comfortable encouragements to walk humbly with God, and wait for him who hides his face from the house of Jacob for a season, but also by their rich supply in victuals and other necessaries for our relief and comfort, which we humbly desire our Lord to repay seven fold in their bosome." And they conclude this part of their petition by entreating the assembly to join with them 'in a grateful acknowledgment of these singular favours.' Agreeably to this request, the assembly drew up in Latin a letter 'To the Kirks in the Netherlands,' in which, after repeating the grateful acknowledgments of their Irish brethren contained in the petition from Ulster just quoted, they return their warmest thanks for the liberal collections which had been so generally made in all the Belgic churches, and for the relief which had been so seasonably afforded to the suffering presbyterians in Ireland. (17) The petition from Ulster concluded by again praying the assembly to grant further supplies of ministers, "who may be sent by turns to keep in the dying lives of above twenty-four desolate congregations who are in danger to perish for want of vision."

The assembly accordingly commissioned the following

[17] Ibid. p. 239 *et seq.* On the 3d of January 1645, the House of Commons appointed a member to request the Westminster Assembly to write "letters of thanks to all the classes or presbyteries in the United Provinces for their activity in stirring up their people to a liberal contribution for the relief of the distressed protestants in Ireland." To this vote is attached the following "*Memorandum*: They have already sent about ten or twelve good ships laden with good provisions of all sorts of victuals, with sufficient convoy upon their own charge, valued above thirty thousand pounds; and they are still providing more." Com. Jour. iv. 8. The exact amount of these contributions is afterwards stated to be £31,218. 12*s.* 5*d.* sterling—a munificent donation in those days, and a proof of sympathy and friendship on the part of the presbyterians of Holland, which ought not to be forgotten by their brethren of Ulster.

ministers to visit the church in Ulster during the subsequent year: "To wit, Mr. William Cockburne, minister at Kirkmichael, and Mr. Hugh M'Kail, minister at Irvine, for the first three months, beginning upon the first of August next; Mr. George Dick, minister at Glenluce, and Mr. John Dick, minister at the Inch, for the next three months, beginning the first of November; Mr. John Livingston, minister at Stranraer, and Mr. Thomas Wylie, minister at Borg, for the last three months, beginning the last of February 1645." (18) Various petitions for pecuniary assistance from districts in Ulster, in which the people were still suffering from want of provisions, were also presented to this assembly, by whom they were recommended to the favourable consideration of the Scottish parliament then sitting. In consequence of this interference, additional supplies of meal were, in the month of July, ordered by the parliament to be forwarded to Ulster; and the sum of fifty pounds was given for distribution to the first two ministers appointed by the assembly to visit Ulster, who arrived in the beginning of the month of August. (19)

These brethren prosecuted their mission under favourable circumstances, owing to the political changes which had taken place in Ulster.

The English parliament, as the reader has seen, had cheerfully concurred with the Scottish Estates in sending the Covenant to Ulster. To ensure its general reception in opposition to the royalist authorities in Dublin, they resolved, in the latter end of December 1643, to place the British and Scottish forces in Ulster under one commander. General Leslie, now Earl of Leven, was soon after nominated by both Houses to this office; and on the tenth of April following he was requested to appoint a commander-in-chief under

[18] The Printed Acts (12mo, 1682) do not contain this *third* "Commission of ministers to go to Ireland:" but I have been able to supply the omission from the minutes of the general assembly for that year, preserved in manuscript among the records of the church of Scotland, *penes* the Rev. Dr. Lee.

[19] Balfour's Annals, iii. pp. 192, 207-10.

him. (20) He immediately forwarded a commission to Major-General Munro, empowering him to take the command of the British regiments in Ulster, previously under the immediate direction and control of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. By this means the royalist party in Ulster, whose strength lay principally in these troops, was considerably weakened, and the interests of the parliament and the Scots were more closely united. This transfer of the command of these regiments from Ormond to Monro was not very pleasing to several of their colonels. It was particularly obnoxious to colonel Chichester, who had steadily supported the party of Charles in opposition to the parliament. He had concurred in Ormond's cessation with the confederate Romanists, (21) and out of their contributions to the royal service had received the sum of five hundred pounds. After the departure of colonel Campbell's regiment from their quarters in Belfast to Scotland in the month of March, Chichester had removed his regiment and troop of horse into the town, and, having fortified it by the direction of Ormond, he held exclusive possession of that place. He refused to permit the Covenant to be tendered there: and not only published Ormond's proclamation against it, but attempted to administer a counter-oath both to his soldiers and to the inhabitants. (22)

20 Com. Jour. iii. 350, 456.

21 It is curious to find colonel Chichester at this time sending to Owen Roe O'Neill at Charlemont for a supply of ammunition, which was readily granted, to enable him to oppose Monro and the Scots.—Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 497. No wonder the latter were anxious to dispossess him of Belfast.

22 Colonel Chichester appears to have rigorously repressed every demonstration of popular feeling in Belfast; so that when he was soon after removed, and the town placed under the protection of the Scots, a reaction was the natural result. Immediately on Monro's occupation of the town, the inhabitants preferred by petition various requests to Mr. Thomas Theaker, the sovereign, one of which was to be permitted to vote in the election of the Burgesses, a privilege withheld in the original charter. The sovereign, alarmed at the confident tone assumed by the reformers, proceeded to Dublin to acquaint colonel Chichester of these popular movements; and there in July 1644, he made the following deposition, which I insert here from the original MS. in Trinity College Library, as indicative

No wonder then he felt both mortified and indignant when Sir James Montgomery informed him of the additional powers entrusted to Monro. A meeting of the British colonels was immediately summoned by Sir James to consider what answer they should return when called on to submit to the Scottish commander. Accordingly, on Monday the thirteenth of May, the lords Blaney and Montgomery of Ards, Sir James Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir Theophilus Jones, colonels Chichester and Hill, with majors Rawdon and Gore, met at Belfast.

of the political and religious principles by which the inhabitants of our northern metropolis were actuated two centuries ago:—

"The Examination of Thomas Theaker, sovereign of Belfast.—He saith also that while this Examinant was resident in Belfast, the free commoners of the said town, who have all of them, except a very few, taken the said covenant, preferred a petition to this Examinant, and to the burgesses of the same; a true copy of which petition followeth in these words, viz.

'The humble request of the whole free commoners of the borough of Belfast unto the sovereign and free burgesses of the same. First, our request is, and as we deem our right is, by his Majesties letters patent, that we may all of us give our free votes in electing and choosing of burgesses as occasion of vacancy may require; and, if not, we protest against the election as unlawful. Further, our request is that such men as shall be chosen to be free burgesses be of the inhabitants, and resident within our corporation, and free of the same, and men of good report, and such as have subscribed to the covenant for reformation of religion, for the true worship and service of God, the honour of our king, and the good of his people: otherwise, we hold all other persons, nominated or elected to be chosen otherwise, to be malignants; and we protest against any other elections as unlawful. Whereas also there are some of the free burgesses that are neither inhabitants within the corporation, neither assistants for any good or welfare of the same; therefore we think it fit that such shall be removed according to the order and custom of this said town, warranted by the said letters patent.'

"He saith also that the said petition was delivered to him, this examinant, about three weeks since at the [Manor?] Court for the town and borough of Belfast. But, upon perusal of the contents of the petition, finding the same to be of dangerous consequence, he refused to assent thereunto; and, having adjourned the court, within a few days after he repaired to Dublin to acquaint colonel Chichester, who is principally interested in the said town, with the contents of the said petition, being still insisted upon by the said commoners."

Monro, being informed of their meeting and its object, and having for some time previously resolved to resume possession of Belfast, deemed this the most fitting opportunity to effect that object, and at the same time to break up the confederacy which was on the eve of being formed against him. The British colonels had "met in the evening, and, adjourning their consultation to the next morning, had retired to their lodgings, when a soldier of colonel Chichester's regiment coming from Carrickfergus, brought advice that Monro had given orders for the garrison of that place, colonel Hume's [Home's] and other Scots regiments, to be ready to march at two of the clock the next morning towards Belfast. The guards hereupon were strengthened, and every officer, as well those of the field as others, ordered upon duty. This being done, some horse were sent as scouts to make discoveries, who, returning about six in the morning, positively affirmed that they had been within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was clear, without a man to be seen. Upon this advice, the guards were all discharged except the ordinary watch; and the officers, who had been all night upon duty, retired to their rest. About an hour after, Monro was descried within half a mile of the town, advancing with great speed towards one of the gates, which (before the drums could beat and the garrison be drawn together to make opposition) was opened to him by a sergeant of captain Mac Adam's and the soldiers of the guard; so that he marched orderly through the place till he came to the opposite or south gate leading to Lisnegarvey, and then directed his men in several parties to possess themselves of the bulwarks, cannon, and guards. Colonel Chichester prevailed with the other colonels to repair to Monro, and ask what he meant by surprising the town. He replied, that, as colonel Chichester had published a proclamation against the Covenant, by which such as had taken it conceived themselves to be declared traitors, discountenanced his officers and the townsmen who offered to take it, and had formerly refused to suffer some

of the Scots to garrison there, he did not think himself safe without having a garrison of his own in the place; and so ordered colonel Chichester's men to depart, except such as he would leave as a guard to his house. Thus was Belfast lost by the treachery of the scouts, who, meeting Monro, had been ordered by him to return and carry that false intelligence of there being no forces to be seen in the country."(23)

The promptitude and decision of Monro in this proceeding overawed the British colonels, and induced them, without much further hesitation, to place themselves under his command, and co-operate with him in opposing the Irish. They merely stipulated that they should not be required to take any oath without having first laid their scruples before the English parliament; and that, in relation to their supplies, they should be put upon the same footing with the Scottish regiments. By this union the royalist party, consisting of the friends of Ormond and the cessation were, in a great measure, deprived of their influence in Ulster. The Scottish and British regiments, now united under Monro, again took the field. On the twenty-seventh of June the greater part of the British forces under the lords Montgomery and Claneboy, and Sir James Montgomery, together with the regiments of general Monro, lord Lindsay, colonel Home, and colonel Montgomery of the Scottish army, assembled at

23 Carte, i. 493, 4. An exaggerated account of this taking of Belfast, as if it were an act of hostility on the part of the Scots against the English forces, was transmitted to the parliament in London, who sent down intelligence of it to the committee of the Scottish estates in Edinburgh, and required from them an explanation of the conduct of their commander on the occasion. This request of the parliament was immediately forwarded to Monro, who accordingly drew up a satisfactory account of his proceedings, and of the reasons which induced him to act as he had done. This statement of Monro I found among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library; and, as it is necessary for illustrating and corroborating the text, I have inserted a copy of it in the Appendix, No. VII. His account is confirmed by the "Deposition of John M^cAdam, captain in colonel Arthur Chichester's regiment stationed at Stramillis [Strand Mills], within a mile of Belfast." This document is in the beginning of the volume of depositions respecting the rebellion marked Co. Antrim, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Lisburn. On the thirtieth they reached Armagh, where they were joined by colonel Hill's regiment of horse, commanded by major George Rawdon, and lord Conway's troop under captain Bruff, with the greater portion of his lordship's regiment of foot, commanded by lieutenant-colonel lord Blaney and major Jones. On the following day another re-inforcement arrived from the regiments of Argyle and Glencairn, with several companies of Sir John Clotworthy's regiment under Owen O'Connolly, now raised to the rank of major. These were soon after followed by the Lagan forces, consisting of the regiments of Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, of colonel Mervyn, of captain Rosse's company of musqueteers from Sir William Cole's regiment, and of four companies from the garrison of Londonderry. The whole disposable force of Ulster, to the amount of one thousand horse and ten thousand foot, was now concentrated at Armagh, with the view of attacking the Irish on the confines of Ulster, and driving them wholly out of the province. For so extensive an enterprise as this they were ill prepared, being destitute of adequate supplies of provisions, and even of the ordinary equipage of a camp. (24) "All our soldiers

[24] In the latter end of June, the officers of the British regiments in Ulster sent over sir William Cole, colonel Arthur Hill, serjeant-major Keith, captain Magill, and captain Tweedy, to the English parliament to represent their distressed state; and with them they forwarded a letter to the speaker of the lords, which was read in the house on the 8th of July, stating that they were in extreme want of pay and provisions; that they had had for a length of time no supply, "save a small proportion of that provision sent over by the charity of our brethren in the Low Countries to the distressed protestant inhabitants here;" and that if assistance were not speedily sent they would be obliged to disband their regiments. This letter, which is given at length in Parl. Hist. xiii. 235-238, is signed by the following twenty-nine officers: J. Montgomery, W. Likam, W. Crauford, Hugh Schaw, Hugh Gill [Magill], John Fairful, George Rawdon, Theo. Jones, James Vaughan, John Mitchell, Fran. Trowdell, Hum. Parrott, Daniel McNeal, Hen. Bedworth, H. Montgomery, H. Blackney, D. Kennedy, H. Cochran, W. Montgomery, Hen. Moore, Arch. Wardlaw, John Keith, Alex. King, Roger Linden, John Ellis, Ro. Colville, Henry Spencer, Michael Doyne, Robert Atkinson. See also Com. Jour. iii. 560.

carried ten days' victuals in oatmeal upon their backs besides their arms; and ten days' more was carried upon baggage horses; more we could not carry, nor other shift we could not make, for want of carriage horses and other accommodations for a march; and all this twenty days' victuals for the soldiers did not exceed twenty-four pounds weight of oatmeal, without any other supply of meat or drink but water." (25) On the fourth of July this ill-provided army left Armagh, and marched through the counties of Monaghan and Cavan as far as Longford and Westmeath. Some slight skirmishing occurred at the bridge of Finnagh near Granard in Longford; but the Irish under Owen Roe, or as he is also called Owen Mac Art O'Neill, unable to cope with so formidable a force, did not venture to oppose their progress. The army advanced as far as Kells; but, their scanty stock of provisions failing them, they were compelled to return by way of Ardee and Dundalk. Here the Lagan forces withdrew towards home, and on the fifteenth of July this fruitless expedition terminated, the Scottish and British regiments retiring from Lisburn to their respective quarters in Down and Antrim.

The confederate council at Kilkenny, alarmed at the strength which the popular party had acquired in the north, despatched lord Castlehaven with a considerable re-inforcement to the assistance of O'Neill. These forces marched into Ulster after Monro had returned to Belfast; and in the latter end of July posted themselves without opposition at Tandragee, in the county of Armagh, in communication with the fort at Charlemont, which still continued in possession of the Romanists. Monro speedily drew out his men, and sent intelligence of the approach of the Irish to the British commanders in Tyrone and Donegal. He advanced with the

[25] These particulars are taken from a pamphlet entitled, "A full relation of the late Expedition of the Right Honourable the Lord Monroe, Major-Generall of all the protestant forces in the province of Ulster; with their several marches and skirmishes with the bloody Irish rebels, and what towns and castles they have taken," &c. Lond. 4to, pp. 14. Aug. 27, 1644.

Scottish forces and colonel Hill's troop of horse to Dromore in the county of Down, where he encamped until he should be joined by the regiments from the remoter parts of the province. In the mean time, on the twelfth of August, one of his officers, captain Blair, was taken prisoner; and above a hundred of his infantry, and several of his horse, were cut off in a skirmish with lord Castlehaven's dragoons; but, being soon after joined by the Lagan Forces, he advanced into Armagh, and compelled the enemy to fall back upon Charlemont. (26) Here both armies, afraid to engage, lay during nearly six weeks inactive, with the exception of a few occasional skirmishes at the outposts. At length Castlehaven, distressed for want of provisions, suddenly broke up his encampment by night, and by forced marches retired in safety to Clones, and thence to Cavan. (27) He was followed by Monro; who, not being able to bring him to an engagement, returned in the beginning of October to Ulster, and once more placed his troops in winter quarters.

[26] Carte, i. 516, Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 499. By the time the news of these proceedings reached London, the strength and success of the Irish, and the difficulties and dangers of the Scots, were so magnified that public prayers were ordered to be offered up on behalf of the latter. Baillie thus writes from London,—"In all our churches on Sunday last [25th of August] we prayed for Monro's hard condition. We were informed that the greatest army which ever the Irish had on foot was come down upon him to root all our people out of Ulster. But this day," he adds, "we hear he has beat them—we pray God it may be true." Baillie, ii. 55.

[27] The following successful stratagem was used by the Irish general to cover his retreat: "There was a passage called Strafaile by which Monroe's provisions were brought to his camp, and it lay so, as, if the Irish army might pass a great bog that was betwixt that and Charlemont, they would easily seize on it before the Scottish army would be able to fall back to defend it, and so cut off all relief from them; therefore orders were given that the army should employ themselves in carrying faggotts and making a way over the bog, and in the edge of the evening powder and bullet was distributed among them; which being related to Monroe by a spy then in the Irish camp, he soon gathered what he conceived probable enough to be the design, and marched northward to the passage of Strafaile, at the same time that the lord of Castlehaven retreated southward to the county of Monaghan." Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 255; see also Ibid. p. 500.

At the same time that the confederate council had despatched lord Castlehaven to Ulster, they made overtures to Ormond to induce him to unite with them more closely than he had yet done, in opposition to the northern covenanters. These offers, which he could not have accepted without endangering the general cause of protestantism in Ireland, he was prudent enough to decline, by pleading the want of specific directions from the king, then holding his court at Oxford. Thither commissioners from the Romanist party had already repaired in the preceding March, to negociate with Charles, in pursuance of the cessation, for further privileges to their church and party in Ireland. Although commissioners from the Irish protestants were at the same time present, and submitted strong remonstrances against yielding to the extravagant demands of the confederates, yet Charles, anxious to secure a permanent peace in Ireland, that he might obtain further aid to his arms in England and Scotland, seemed inclined to accede to the most obnoxious of their proposals. He dismissed the Romish agents, clamorous for the restoration of their ascendancy and the full and free re-establishment of their church, with the grave assurance that, "if his catholic subjects of Ireland made haste, upon such conditions as he might then grant without prejudice to himself, and which should be amply sufficient for the security of their fortunes, lives, and exercise of that religion, to assist him, whereby he might be enabled by God's blessing to suppress that rebellion, they might confidently believe he would never forget to whose merits he owed his preservation and restoration, and it would then be in his absolute power to vouchsafe grace unto them to compleat their happiness, and which he gave them his royal word he would then dispense in such manner as should not leave them disappointed of their just and full expectations." (28)

In accordance with these flattering but ambiguous expressions, Charles issued a commission to Ormond, which he re-

[28] Clarendon's Reb. &c. in Ireland. Dub. 1720, pp. 20, 21.

ceived on the twenty-sixth of July, empowering him in the amplest manner to conclude a peace with the confederate Romanists on such conditions as he might deem most advantageous to the royal cause. In the beginning of September, negociations commenced at Dublin between Ormond and the confederate commissioners. Several propositions were made by both parties towards settling the terms of the peace, but without leading to any satisfactory result. "The propositions made and the answers returned, Ormond cautiously determined to lay before the king. The treaty was adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January; and as the agents employed to attend the king had the misfortune to be taken prisoners by a vessel in the service of the parliament, further proceedings were suspended until the month of April 1645." (29)

The issue of this treaty was materially influenced by the alterations which had taken place in the state of parties in the sister kingdoms. Another negociation had, in the mean time, commenced in England, the unsuccessful result of which affected that now pending in Ireland.

During the campaign of 1644, Charles had sent, in the months of July and September, two messages to the parliament, expressing a desire for peace. This step he appears

[29] Leland, iii. 239. I may here subjoin Leland's note to the passage quoted in the text: "About this time Mac Mahon and lord Macguire, who had taken a leading part in the Irish conspiracy, were condemned and executed in London. They had lain two years in the Tower, had contrived to escape, but were discovered, re-taken, and immediately brought to their trials. Macguire pleaded a right of being tried by his peers in Ireland; but the plea was over-ruled, and the two houses confirmed the opinion of judge Bacon, that he was triable by a jury in England. They rejected his petition to be beheaded; so that he was drawn to Tyburn, and executed in the ordinary manner." The reader will find a full account of Macguire's trial in Cobbett's State Trials, vol. iv. col. 654-754. Among the witnesses examined on it were Sir William Cole, Sir William Stewart, lord Blayney, and lady Caulfield Sir John Clotworthy was present, and promised to move in the house of commons for permission for a Roman catholic priest to attend Macguire, and for postponing the execution of the sentence for a fortnight; but neither of these desires was granted.

to have taken, not from any sincere wish to conclude a pacification on just or reasonable conditions; but with the view of throwing upon the parliament, whose refusal was anticipated, the odium of resisting these attempts towards an accommodation. The latter, however, overlooking the offensive and insulting manner in which these messages were addressed, accepted the offer, and sent to the king propositions for peace. After various communications it was finally arranged that commissioners from Charles and from the parliament should meet at Uxbridge, not far from London, to settle the conditions on which the two contending parties might lay down their arms. These negociations were limited to twenty days, and restricted to three topics, two of which were, Religion and Ireland. The commissioners assembled at the appointed place on the 30th of January 1645, and proceeded to consider, in the first instance, the terms of the proposed treaty in reference to Religion.

This topic was discussed under inauspicious circumstances, in consequence of the resolution of the parliament, adopted only a few weeks previously, to inflict the highest penalties of the law on the once formidable archbishop of Canterbury. The conspicuous place which Laud, while in the plenitude of his power, occupied in the former part of this narrative, calls for a few notices of his subsequent fall and condemnation. He was committed to prison, under the charge of high treason, in the month of December 1640, a few weeks after the imprisonment of his friend and partner in guilt—Strafford. In the month of February following, fourteen articles of impeachment were preferred against him before the Lords, by Sir Henry Vane in the name of the commons of England, to which the commissioners from Scotland soon after added other charges. For two years and a half no further proceedings were instituted; until at length, in October 1643, ten additional articles, containing certain specific and formal charges, were exhibited against him. To these he put in his answer in the month of January following; and on the twelfth of March 1644, his trial commenced before the house of

lords. He was accused of endeavouring to overturn the fundamental laws of the realm, by his arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings in the star-chamber and high commission courts, and of introducing innovations of a popish tendency into the established religion and worship. After a protracted investigation, which occupied at intervals above twenty days, and extended to the month of October, it was resolved, as in the case of Strafford, to lay aside the mode of proceeding by impeachment, and to introduce an ordinance similar to a bill of attainder against him. This ordinance was passed by the commons on the sixteenth of November, and carried up to the lords. After some debates they concurred in voting him guilty of endeavouring to subvert the constitution, to overturn the protestant religion, and to do away with parliaments. Although the judges, on being referred to, gave their opinion that these charges did not amount to treason, the lords, after a conference with the commons, finally passed the ordinance on the fourth of January 1645; and six days afterwards the aged and infirm prelate was beheaded on Tower-hill, in the seventy-second year of his age. "Laud had amply merited punishment for his tyrannical abuse of power; but his execution at the age of seventy, without the slightest pretence of political necessity, was as unjustifiable an instance of it as any that was alleged against him." (30)

By a singular coincidence, on the very day prior to the condemnation of the archbishop, the parliament issued an ordinance abolishing throughout England the use of the Common Prayer Book, so long the idol of Laud's bigoted attachment, and establishing in its room the Directory for Public Worship, in the compilation of which the Westminster assembly had been engaged during the year 1644. During the same period the assembly had also been occupied in drawing out a scheme for the government of the church in accordance with the stipulations of the solemn league and

[30] Slightly altered from Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 19.

covenant. In this department of their work they encountered, from the very commencement of their labours, the determined opposition of a few ministers, members of the assembly, who professed the principles of independency. These were at first not more than five. In the beginning of February 1644, they published their celebrated Apologetical Narration; and from this period, which was their first appearance as a distinct party in the assembly, they obtained the name of the dissenting brethren. (31) Their opposition was at first more

31 This pamphlet is styled in the title page, "An Apologeticall Narration humbly submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament. By Tho. Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jer. Burroughes, Sidrach Simpson. London, 1643." But on the first leaf there is this running title, as if, when the authors first put it to press, they did not intend to attach their names to it,—"An Apologeticall Narration of some ministers, formerly in exile: now members of the Assembly of Divines." Being printed in February 1644, it is dated, agreeably to the English style, in 1643; from inattention to this circumstance, several historians have placed its publication in the previous year. It is a most plausible appeal to the parliament in favour of independency, full of fulsome panegyrics on themselves and their superior advantages for discovering the truth, and abounding in insidious attacks on the reformed churches. It sets forth at length the distinguishing principles of their system, among which we look in vain for that hostility to endowments and to the magistrate's power *circa sacra*, which is now-a-days assumed as having been characteristic of this sect from its very commencement. On the contrary, they profess "to be most willing to have recourse unto" the magistrate's "interposing his power" to support the proceedings of their associated churches, in excluding from communion other offending churches; "unto which power," say they, "we, upon his particular cognizance and examination of such causes, profess ever to submit." Page 12. And in another place, speaking of the magistrate's power, they insert this significant parenthesis, "(to which we give as much, and, as we think, more then the principles of the presbyteriall government will suffer them to yeeld.)" Page 19. Several of our modern historians, such as Laing, Hallam, Godwin, &c. who affect to write with philosophic indifference as to religious parties, have lauded the independents to the skies for being the first to advocate the principles of universal toleration, and the only denomination who have been its consistent supporters. They no doubt declaimed loudly in its favour, like most other sects, when they were the minority; but they have not been far behind other intolerant churches when they were the decided majority. Witness their proceedings in New

annoying than formidable; but having afterwards, in order the more effectually to prevent the introduction of presbyterianism, made common cause with the erastians and baptists, and the numerous illiterate and fanatical sectaries which then sprang up, and being supported by the army under the powerful influence of Cromwell, they ultimately succeeded in thwarting the establishment of any settled ecclesiastical discipline. In consequence of this opposition, the assembly had as yet made little progress in the matter of church government. Certain general propositions, however, involving the fundamental principles of presbyterial, as opposed to prelatical, government, were agreed to with considerable unanimity both by the assembly and the parliament; the details of the system to be afterwards established being left for subsequent discussion.

Under these circumstances, the parliamentary commissioners at Uxbridge were instructed to demand, as an indispensable part of the proposed treaty, the concurrence of Charles in those measures regarding religion already adopted by the parliament. They required his consent to the ordinances which had been passed for abolishing prelacy, for convoking the Westminster assembly, for enforcing the solemn

England—the only place, let it be observed, where they have been tried with the possession of power. Did they there reduce to practice those principles of toleration which their successors claim as the exclusive and inseparable glory of independency? A contemporary writer shall inform us:—"They in New England are more strict and rigid than we [i. e. the presbyterians], or any church, to suppress by the power of the magistrate all who are not of their way, to banishment ordinarily and presently, even to death lately, or perpetual slavery. For one Jortin, some time a famous citizen here for piety, having taught a number in New England to cast off the word and sacrament, and deny angels and devils, and teach a gross kind of union with Christ in this life, by force of arms was brought to New Boston, and there with ten of the chief of his followers, by the civil court, was decerned perpetual slaves; but the votes of many were for their execution. They lie in irons though gentlemen; and out of their prison write to the admiral here to deal with the parliament for their deliverance." Baillie, ii. pp. 17, 18. See also their severe persecution of the quakers, anabaptists, and other sectaries, in Mather's New England, book vii.

league and covenant which he was himself to take, and for substituting the Directory in room of the book of Common Prayer. They also demanded that the propositions respecting church-government, drawn up by the Westminster assembly and agreed to by the parliament, should be confirmed by him as a part of the covenanted reformation and uniformity. To every one of these demands the royal commissioners gave a decided negative. At length, after the divines on each side,—the principal of whom were, on the part of the parliament, the Rev. Alexander Henderson, one of the commissioners from Scotland to the Westminster assembly, and Dr. Steward on that of the king,—had during two entire days discussed the conflicting claims of presbytery and prelacy to a divine institution, the commissioners for Charles submitted several propositions for peace on the subject of religion, amounting, however, to no more than a temporary and very limited reform of the more glaring abuses of episcopal government. These proposed concessions, had they been made a year before, might have formed a favourable ground for negotiation; but, pledged as the parliament now were to the abolition of prelacy, and having had convincing proofs of the insincerity of Charles, and his blind subjection to the popish counsels of his bigoted consort, their refusal to entertain these meagre propositions cannot excite surprise.

No better success attended the negotiations respecting Ireland. The commissioners from the parliament proposed, that the king should join with them in declaring the cessation to be void, that the war against the Irish insurgents should be diligently prosecuted under their direction, and that hostilities should not be terminated without their special consent. It was confidently expected that, upon this point at least, both parties would readily agree. But Charles, never friendly to peace, and buoyed up with the expectation of speedy reinforcements from the Irish Romanists, would not permit a single concession to be made. The prescribed number of days having expired, on the twenty-second of February this unsuccessful treaty was abruptly broken off;

and both parties, as their last resource, prepared to renew the war in the approaching campaign with redoubled vigour.

During these fruitless negotiations Charles, convinced that the treaty would be rendered abortive by the determination to which he had come of yielding nothing to the parliament, had been earnestly pressing Ormond to bring to a conclusion his long pending treaty with the Irish confederates. But dissatisfied with his caution and slowness, and aware perhaps that this protestant nobleman would not cordially support the intended concessions to the Romanist party, Charles, a few days after the termination of the conferences at Uxbridge, privately commissioned the earl of Glamorgan to treat with that party without consulting Ormond, and entrusted to him the amplest powers to conclude a peace with them on any terms. This new agent was a zealous Roman catholic,(32) and entered warmly into the views of Charles. Owing, however, to various unexpected delays, he did not reach Ireland until the end of July; when the decisive battle of Naseby, fought the preceding month, had almost irretrievably ruined the royal cause, and when the publication of the private correspondence of Charles with Ormond and the queen, taken among the spoils of that fatal day, had revealed to the entire nation his impatience to obtain peace with the Irish, and to engage them on his side at any cost. No time was therefore to be lost, and on the twenty-fifth of August Glamorgan finally concluded at Kilkenny his private treaty with the confederates; engaging on the part of the king, not only that the penal laws against popery should be entirely repealed, but that the Romish church should be re-established and endowed throughout the greater part of Ireland.(33) This treaty being strictly

32 The Pope's nuncio in Ireland, in his memoirs (p. 712), significantly styled Glamorgan, *ter Catholicus*. Birch, p. 15.

33 The question so long and keenly agitated, whether in this treaty Glamorgan exceeded his instructions from Charles or not, may *now* be considered as so satisfactorily decided in the negative, that no notice need be taken here of the several controverted points of the case. In addition to

private, and unfit as yet to be disclosed, it was necessary, lest suspicions might be excited, that the public negotiations with Ormond should be ostensibly resumed. As a preliminary step the confederate commissioners once more pressed Ormond to declare the Scots and British in Ulster, now united under Monro, to be rebels; and to join in prosecuting the war against these stubborn opponents of the cessation. But so far from being disposed to proceed to extremities against the northern protestants, he was, on the contrary, most anxious to win them over to the royal cause. The extravagant demands of the Irish commissioners in favour of popery, which, ignorant as he was of Glamorgan's treaty, he conceived the king would never grant, appeared to him to cut off all hope of concluding such a satisfactory peace with them, as would engage them heartily in the service of Charles. The only other quarter whence assistance could be derived was Ulster. Here, therefore, at this critical conjuncture he was especially desirous of reviving a royalist party; and as an important step towards the attainment of this object, he resolved to detach the northern forces, or at least a portion of them, from the interests of the parliament, and to use his utmost efforts to induce them to place themselves once more under his command.

Several circumstances conspired to favour this design. Notwithstanding the junction of the British regiments with the Scots under Monro in compliance with the order of the parliament, and the promises which were then held out that their pay should be punctually transmitted, considerable arrears had accumulated, and during the winter the whole army had been suffering extreme distress. In the month of January the Scottish forces dispatched colonel George Monro to Edinburgh, to lay "ther grate wants and necessities of meall and prouisions" before the Scottish parliament,

Birch's celebrated and convincing INQUIRY, the reader, who has been perplexed by Hume's plausible reply to Birch, would do well to consult Laing's note in his Hist. of Scotland, iii. 523, *et seq.* in answer to Hume's sophistry and Brodie's note on the same topic, Brit. Emp. iv. 39—53.)

and to solicit "a speidey supplie, wtherwayes they would be forced to abander that countrey."(34) At the same time they sent a letter to the general assembly then sitting, entreating them to recommend their case to the parliament, and not to impute to them, should they be compelled to return home, the injury which the cause of religion in Ulster would thereby sustain.(35) In the month of March following, the British regiments sent a similar remonstrance to the English parliament representing their grievances, and solemnly assuring them, "that, unless subsistence in some reasonable measure proportionable to their wants were speedily sent them, a constant way laid down for their future maintenance during the war, and security given them for their arrears, they must desert the service, and look out for some master under whom they might raise new fortunes in lieu of those they had ruined under the parliament."(36) With individuals thus meditating a change of masters, it was no difficult task for Ormond to open a negotiation; which he did through the medium of archdeacon Galbraith, probably the person who had been deprived of his preferment by Laud and Strafford in 1638, on account of his supposed attachment to the Scottish covenanters.(37) Nor had Ormond much difficulty in persuading the Scots in Ulster to listen to his proposals. While their forces were suffering, equally with the British, through the neglect of the English parliament, they had additional grounds for dissatisfaction arising out of the ascendancy of the sectaries, now beginning to appear both in the army and in the house of commons. The intrigue which issued in the passing of the memorable self-denying ordinance, in the month of February, was the first triumph of that party over the presbyterians, and their first step in that revolu-

[34] Balfour, iii. 261.

[35] MS. Trans. of Scot. army in Ireland, p. 88. I have inserted a copy of this letter to the general assembly in the Appendix, No. VIII. together with a minute of the proceedings of the assembly thereupon.

[36] Carte, i. 531.

[37] See volume i. p. 227.

tionary career which, within four years, terminated in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of republican government. The ostentation with which the decisive victory at Naseby in June was attributed to Cromwell and the other leaders of the rising faction, and the pertinacity with which the commons had been thwarting the efforts of the Westminster assembly to remodel the government of the church in accordance with the covenant, served still further to increase the jealousy of the Scots, and to abate the zeal with which, two years before, they had espoused the cause of the parliament. Their countrymen in Ulster participated in this growing discontent of the presbyterian party in the sister kingdoms; and the Scottish troops, though by no means so forward as the British to unite with the royalists, were not averse to the overtures of Ormond. He was not without hopes, therefore, of speedily prevailing with the northern regiments to renounce their dependence on the English parliament, by whose neglect they had suffered so much, and of ultimately inducing them to espouse the cause of the king, in opposition to the papists on the one hand, and the sectaries on the other.

Ormond would probably have succeeded in this project, had not the parliament, alarmed at the first symptoms of disaffection to their cause, resolved at length to redress the grievances of which their Ulster auxiliaries had so repeatedly complained. Early in the month of May they resolved to raise forthwith ten thousand pounds in money, and to provide adequate supplies of clothing to meet the pressing wants of the several regiments. They also determined to send over commissioners to investigate the state of the army, and to inquire into the means of prosecuting the war more efficiently. (38) To these persons special directions were given to pay particular attention to the Scots, both in the army and

[38] On the 12th of April, the commons resolved to appoint "A committee to reside with the British and Scottish forces in Ireland, to act as a joint committee with commissioners from Scotland—for the better carrying on the war of Ireland." Journals, iv. p. 109.

in the country, in order to remove the prejudices which they entertained against the parliament as opposed to presbyterianism; and by thus regaining their confidence, to prevent them from uniting with the royalists under Ormond. Another object with the accomplishment of which, it is alleged, these commissioners were entrusted by the parliament was, to form a party in Ulster attached to the revolutionary faction, who, by reason of the recent elections of members in room of those who had died or been expelled, were rapidly acquiring a decided preponderance in the commons. In the present conjuncture it would have been hazardous for this party to have come to an open rupture with the Scots; but they foresaw they could not long act in concert with them, and therefore, while their commissioners in Ulster were enjoined ostensibly to favour the presbyterians, they were directed at the same time covertly to secure adherents to their cause, on whose co-operation they might rely when the fitting time would come for dissolving their union with the Scots. (39)

So soon as the design of the parliament to send commissioners to Ulster was disclosed to the officers of the British regiments, they resolved to hold a meeting to consider how they should most effectually obtain a redress of their grievances. They accordingly met at Antrim on the seventeenth of May, when they formed themselves into a military union, and constituted a general council of war, empowered to act in the name of that section of the northern army. (40) "They

[39] Carte, i. 538.

[40] The Montgomery MSS. supply us with the names of the officers who composed this council;—the colonels were Hugh lord-viscount Montgomery of the Ards, *president*, James lord-viscount Claneboy, Sir James Montgomery, knt., Sir Robert Stewart, knt., and Audley Mervyn, esq. The lieutenant-colonels were Sir Joseph Cunningham under Sir William Stewart, Hugh Cochrane under Sir James Montgomery, Robert Saunderson under Sir Robert Stewart, and James Clotworthy under Sir John Clotworthy. The majors were Finlay Ferhardson in the lord Montgomery's regiment of foot, George Rawdon in colonel Hill's regiment of horse, George Keith under Sir James Montgomery, James Galbraith under Sir Robert Stewart, and Theophilus Jones under the lord Conway. Montg. MSS. p. 196.

also did draw up a bond of union, as they called it, and a protestation to be sworn and signed by all the officers of the army, and an oath to be administered to the soldiers also, who were bound thereby to go wheresoever they should be led, &c. This some of the officers of the army did scruple, as captain Alexander Stewart, and captain Kennedy and others, and desired the mind of the presbytery in it; which the presbytery gave an answer to and declaration, which they ordered to be read in every regiment in the British army." (41) In consequence, probably, of this interference of the presbytery, who were apprehensive lest these troops should be seduced from their attachment to the covenant, the officers of the union, "to prevent all misconstruction of their proceedings, declared that they intended to do nothing destructive of the covenant; that they would prosecute the war against the Irish till an honourable and safe peace should be concluded by the consent of the king and parliament; and if they were not enabled to do so, they called heaven and earth to witness that it was not their fault, if they were forced to take any other way for their preservation and subsistence." (42)

To show the sincerity of these professions, the British colonels resolved, in compliance with the order of parliament conveyed to them by Sir Charles Coote, to march into Connaught. On the twentieth of June their several regiments from Down and Antrim, and from Donegal, to the number of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, met at Augher in Tyrone, and chose Sir Robert Stewart as their commander. Being joined by Sir Frederick Hamilton's regiment, they

41 Adair's MS. Captain Alexander Stewart was the eldest son of sir William Stewart; the reader will afterwards meet with him as a zealous upholder of presbyterian principles. To the passage quoted in the text Adair adds; "which declaration is recorded here to show the prudence and faithfulness of the presbytery in that case." But unfortunately the blank space which had been left in the MS. for the presbytery's *Declaration* was never filled up; and I have not been able to discover a copy of this public document.

42 Carte, i. 534.

marched against Sligo; and supported by some pieces of artillery conveyed by sea, they attacked the town and castle, which were speedily surrendered by the chief, O'Connor. Thence they advanced in several detachments into the adjoining counties of Mayo and Galway, the strongholds of the insurgents, laying waste the country, and carrying off considerable booty in cattle. The government of Sligo being entrusted to Sir Robert Stewart, who left his lieutenant-colonel with five hundred men in charge of the castle, the British regiments soon after retired to their quarters, where they arrived about the thirteenth of July. But the Irish leaders, having collected their scattered forces, resolved to rescue Sligo out of the hands of the protestants. For this purpose the Roman catholic archbishop of Tuam, a member of the confederate council at Kilkenny, entered the town on Sunday, the twenty-sixth of October, at the head of a considerable force; and, having obtained possession of the church and the abbey, was preparing to attack the castle. But, being informed that a reinforcement of the British was approaching, he hastily withdrew his men. A body of horse, under the command of Sir Charles Coote and Sir Frederick Hamilton, suddenly attacked him; his forces were thrown into confusion, several of his officers were taken prisoners, and the archbishop himself was killed in the retreat. Among his baggage was found, with other important papers, a full and authentic copy of the private treaty which Glamorgan had recently concluded with the confederate council, and which had hitherto been carefully concealed. (43) This important document was speedily published, and by revealing the fatal and ruinous extent to which the King was prepared to favour popery, that, by its assistance, he might put down the friends of truth and freedom, it irrecoverably alienated the northern

[43] Carte, i. 537. A full account of the proceedings of the northern forces during this incursion, with copies of the more important papers found on the Romish archbishop, may be seen in Rushworth, part iv. vol. i, p. 238 *et seq.*

Scots from the cause of Charles, and disappointed the hopes which Ormond had entertained of attaching them to the royalist party.

Immediately after this seasonable discovery, the commissioners from the parliament arrived in Ulster, with the promised supplies of money, provisions, and clothing. They were Sir Robert King, Mr. Arthur Annesley, son of lord Mountnorris and afterwards earl of Anglesea, and colonel William Beale of London. From the state of feeling in the north among all classes of protestants, occasioned by the recent disclosure of Glamorgan's treaty, they found no difficulty in defeating the intrigues of Ormond. They immediately set themselves to regain the confidence of the Scots. To effect this object, they shewed marked favour to the presbyterian ministers, both of the army and of the country. They enjoined the taking of the covenant in those places where it had not been previously tendered; and gave their public countenance and sanction to the various proceedings of the presbytery. The arrival of these commissioners was, therefore, an important event in the history of the church; and proved, in the first instance, highly advantageous to its prosperity and extension.

During the previous year, the interests of religion, notwithstanding several hindrances, continued to advance. The presbytery were indefatigable in their endeavours to repress immorality among persons of every rank; and to establish throughout the province, so far as their influence extended, the regular administration of religious ordinances, and the faithful exercise of a settled ecclesiastical discipline. Before the arrival of the ministers appointed by the general assembly in 1644, (44) the presbytery enjoyed the valuable assistance of the Rev. John McClelland, minister of Kirkcudbright, who, during the months of July and August, visited Ulster, pursuant to the appointment of the previous as-

[44] See page 57 *antea*.

sembly. (45) They took advantage of his presence to carry into effect several important measures.

"The presbytery being informed of the scandalous lives of some who had been conformist ministers, their drunkenness and selling baptism in private, &c. did summon them; and they, compearing and being convicted, were suspended from the exercise of the ministry, Mr. McClelland being at that time moderator. Two of these were Mr. John Bell and Mr. H. Cunningham. In the next presbytery the suspension was taken off, upon their promise of amendment; where also Mr. McClelland was present. Likewise upon the presbytery's desire, Mr. McClelland spoke to the general-major [Monro] entreating that the whole army might be subject to discipline, and the people within the bounds where the army lay; there being many scandals both in the army and country. This request, upon his application to the general-major, was granted. And, having this encouragement from those who, in this confused time, did rule in the country, the presbytery did improve it to the best advantage, both against some sectaries appearing in some places, and against scandalous conformist ministers as well as other scandalous persons, summoning them before the presbytery, and, according as they found ground, either censuring or relaxing them. They had greatest trouble with Mr. Brice and Mr. Hamilton of Dundonald, (46) who obstinately adhered to their former courses, and denied the covenant and the authority of the presbytery. Upon which these two hirelings were suspended, and there-

[45] This appointment the reader will find in vol. i. p. 397. Mr. McClelland had also been commissioned, by the assembly in 1642, to visit his former friends in Ulster; but ill-health prevented his coming over. See vol. i. p. 390.

[46] Brice is, I conjecture, a mistake of Adair's copyist for Price. I cannot find any minister of the name of Brice, but I find a Robert Price admitted rector of Kilmegan or Castlewellan in Down, on the 3d of January, 1636; and Mr. James Hamilton admitted rector of Dundonald, on the 4th of August, 1636, and rector of Blaris or Lisburn in March following.

after restrained from the exercise of the ministry. The place where there was the greatest hazard of spreading the errors of independency and anabaptism was Belfast, through one Matthew Lees being so industrious there. Upon which the presbytery recommended it to Mr. William Cockburne and Mr. Hugh M'Kail, (now come commissioners from Scotland, and having directions from the commission of the church to have a special inspection on that place) that they would visit Belfast frequently for obviating this infection." (47)

These two brethren, the first supplies appointed by the last general assembly, reached Ulster in the beginning of September. They had scarcely arrived when a very peculiar and unexpected emergeney rendered their counsel and advice particularly acceptable to the presbytery.

No sooner had prelacy been deprived of the coercive support of the state in consequence of the civil wars, than the people, left to their own unrestricted choice, declared their preference of the presbyterian form of government. The few episcopal ministers who had either remained in the country, or returned after the first fury of the rebellion had subsided, found themselves unable, while unsupported by the strong arm of the law, to re-establish their worship or government. The people refused to have their public devotions for ever fettered by the semi-papal formularies of the English common-prayer; nor could they be reconciled to the ministry of those who had been imposed upon them by the mandate of an irresponsible individual, whether prelate or layman. They now desired pastors regularly called and ordained, and discharging the duties of their office under the inspection of a presbytery, in which their elders should have a seat, and to which they might appeal in cases of difficulty. This decided alienation of the people from the episcopal church was embarrassing to the clergy who were in the country. A few of them foolishly persisted in forcing their unacceptable and almost abhorred services upon presbyterian

[47] Adair's MS.

parishes, until,—as the reader has just seen in the cases of Price and Hamilton,—the presbytery was obliged to remove them, and to substitute such pastors as might, in those places, more profitably fulfil the duties of their office. Others of the episcopal ministers appear to have quietly laid aside the clerical character until a favourable period for resuming it might arrive. But several of them, particularly in the county of Antrim, adopted a different and less honourable course. Conscious that, under the altered circumstances of the country, they could no longer exercise their ministry—for which some of them indeed appear to have been ill qualified—unless by adapting themselves to the views and principles so universally entertained, they resolved to conform to presbyterian usages, so far as might be sufficient to retain the confidence of their people.

These inconsistent and disingenuous ministers accordingly took the solemn league and covenant; laid aside the common-prayer book, or used it only sparingly; adopted several parts of the directory, and persuaded some of the least scrupulous in their parishes to give them formal calls to the exercise of their ministry. To assimilate their proceedings still more ostensibly to presbyterian order, they formed themselves into an association to which they gave the name of a presbytery, though wanting the essential characteristics of that court—the presence of ruling elders, and its subjection to other church-judicatories. With the regularly constituted presbytery, which sat statedly at Carrickfergus, they held no correspondence; nor was it their design or wish to do so. On the contrary, they laboured to prejudice the people against that body, and to prevent its authority from extending to that part of the country. Their whole object would appear to have been to deceive the country with the name and appearance of a presbytery, and thus to maintain their influence, until a favourable opportunity should arrive for throwing off the mask, and placing the yoke of prelacy once more on the necks of the irdeluded people. The army-presbytery, however, were not so easily deceived. Foreseeing the

distractions likely to be created by this mock presbytery, they resolved either to suppress it altogether, or to re-construct it in an orderly and scriptural manner. Their proceedings on this singular emergency under the direction of the Scottish commissioners, the Rev. Messrs. McKail and Cockburn, are thus narrated by Adair.

"At this time, being in or about September 1644, there was an erection of a new presbytery in the Route by divers ministers who had been conformists and had taken the covenant of late, who had no sessions nor commissions from any, but themselves concurring together: which the presbytery hearing of, did write a letter to them by the moderator, desiring that they send some of their number to the presbytery to inform them of the grounds of so doing, and the manner of their proceeding. Accordingly they sent Mr. Daniel McNeill (48) with a letter subscribed by their moderator and clerk, to the next meeting of the presbytery. But this not satisfying, the presbytery summoned them all to the next meeting; upon which this new presbytery sent a commission with two other members, subscribed by all the rest. The presbytery, hearing what these commissioners Mr. Fenton and Mr. Daniel McNeill said for them, did upon serious consideration declare that these ministers had erected a presbytery without order, constituted of several corrupt men, and that they were endeavouring to bring others in daily: and, therefore, for preventing dangers which might come upon religion and the people of God by such disorderly actions and such dangerous proceedings, they did enact that it be suppressed as an unlawful pretended presbytery, having no calling to meet together from the people, but usurped by themselves. And whereas one of their own number, Mr. John Lithgow, had joined with them, they discharge him; unto which he submits. The presbytery ordered them to be summoned to the next meeting, viz. Mr. William Fenton,

[48] Of him see chap. xvii. note 18, *postea*.

Mr. Daniel M^cNeill, Mr. William Fullerton, (49) Mr. James Watson, named doctor, (50) James Graham, James Hamil, and Thomas Vesey. (51) The most part appearing and being interrogated if they would submit to the presbytery, did refuse as members of the church of Ireland, except the presbytery could instruct [exhibit] their commission from the parliament of England, or synod of divines there. Unto which the moderator assured them, and gave them under his hand, that the commissioners of the parliament of England and of the assembly of divines being sent to Scotland to the assembly, by commission desired and entreated the general assembly of Scotland to send over ministers to Ireland for setting up the work of reformation there. After which these ministers did submit themselves to the presbytery. Upon this, the presbytery sent two of their number, to wit, Mr. James Baty and Mr. H. Cunningham, ministers, and lieutenant Lindsay, elder, (52) to the Route, to try their carriage there, and what calls they had to their parishes where they did now reside and preach. Upon which it is found by their commissioners first, and thereafter by supplications and complaints to the presbytery by the most part of the people of these parishes, and all the sober religious part of them, that these ministers had generally come in upon these parishes at their own hand, with the consent of a few not well-inclined people. And

[49] Mr. Fullerton was first admitted to the rectory of Ahoghill, on the presentation of Edward lord viscount Chichester, in the year 1633; and afterwards advanced to the prebend of Carncastle, his cure of souls being at Derrykeighan or Dervock.

[50] I find Mr. James Watson admitted prebendary of Connor and vicar of Kells, October 2nd 1637.

[51] The same individual already mentioned by Adair as solemnly taking the covenant in Coleraine; of whom see chap. x. note 38, *antea*.

[52] In a volume of letters from the parliamentary commissioners and other persons in office relative to Irish affairs, from September 1645 to September 1648, preserved among the MSS. in the British Museum, I find mention made of a lieutenant Lindsay belonging to captain Houston's company in Sir James Montgomery's regiment, who is probably the 'elder' mentioned in the text.

having been ministers of other places before the rebellion, they had no clear call to reside there till they would give satisfaction. And these who were not so, were permitted to preach where they had a call, they having before that publicly renounced the black oath and conformity, and taken the covenant, when commissioners from Scotland did administer it in the country. However, of those sorts of ministers who had been conformists before, now some of them seemingly subjected themselves to the presbytery; yet their carriage and preaching were not savoury to the people, and breaking out sometimes in drunkenness and quarrelling, they proved a great trouble to the presbytery. Besides, others of them, who altogether refused subjection though summoned to appear, were public enemies to the work of reformation then growing up.

"The presbytery at this time were frequent in keeping solemn days of public humiliation for causes relating to the state of that time; as troubles in Scotland by Montrose, or the slow proceedings of reformation in England both by parliament and assembly, the insolence of malignants in this country especially ministers, sin abounding generally, notwithstanding of our troubles and late entering into covenant, &c. They also continued to send commissioners, consisting of a minister and ruling elder, (on this occasion Mr. John Drysdale, minister, and captain James Wallace, elder,) to the general assembly of Scotland; partly for obtaining their opinion in some doubtful cases of discipline, partly to procure more ministers to be sent for visiting." (53)

[53] Adair's MS.

CHAPTER XII.

General assembly meet in January—Petitions sent by Commissioners from Ulster — Proceedings of assembly thereon—Complaint against Thornton, mayor of Derry—Assembly write to London on the subject—Procedure of the presbytery in relation to the Romanists—Ordinations of Buttle and Ferguson—Congregations call Mr. Livingston—Discouragements and labours of the presbytery—Arrival of the parliamentary commissioners—Complaint of the pretended presbytery in the Route—Commissioners support the army-presbytery—Opposition of Dr. Colville—English parliament favour the independents—Their commissioners in Ulster demand possession of Belfast—Charles joins the Scots—Ormond concludes a treaty with the Irish confederates—Opposed by the Nuncio and O'Neile—Monro defeated in the battle of Benburb—Lord Montgomery taken prisoner—Consequences of this defeat—Presbytery cautious in receiving candidates for the ministry—Send commissioners to the general assembly—Progress of ecclesiastical reform in England—Ordinations of Adair, Hall, Cunningham, and Shaw—Of Anthony Kennedy—Of Baird and Greg—Difficulties in the settlement of Ker and O'Quin—Ordinations of Peebles, Ramsay, and Gordon—Of Cunningham and Semple.

THE general assembly, to which the Rev. John Drysdale, minister of Portafery, and captain James Wallace of Argyle's regiment, were sent as commissioners, had been appointed to meet at the usual period in the month of May; but the pressing exigencies of the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire rendered an earlier meeting indispensable. The Westminster assembly having completed the directory for public worship, and having, after lengthened debates, also drawn up certain "Propositions concerning church government and ordination of ministers,"[1] embodying the general

[1] These "Propositions" are given at length in the Appendix to Neal's History of the Puritans, No. ix. under the title of "The Form of Presbyterial Church Government."

principles of presbyterial government; and both these measures having been approved by the parliament, the Scottish commissioners in London recommended a special meeting of the general assembly to be called, for the purpose of giving their assent to these important steps towards the covenanted uniformity in religion. This meeting accordingly took place at Edinburgh on the twenty-second of January 1645.

The presbyterians of Ulster, having received timely notice of this assembly, drew up petitions in different parts of the province, and forwarded them by their commissioners. Among these applications were, not only the customary general petition from "The distressed Christians in Ulster for a further supply of ministers;" but also one from general Monro desiring the assembly to send a suitable minister to officiate to his regiment at Carrickfergus, and several other petitions from the city of Londonderry and the surrounding districts of Derry and Donegal, requesting that some ministers might be specially sent to visit that populous presbyterian settlement.

In answer to the first of these applications—all of which received the most kind and ready attention—the assembly, for the FOURTH time, issued the usual "Commission for ministers to go to Ireland;" which was to take effect so soon as the brethren, appointed by the preceding assembly, should have completed their term of service; "And therefore," say the assembly in this commission, "we do hereby authorise and give commission to the persons following, to wit, Mr. Alexander Blair, minister of Galston, and Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of Ballantrae, for the first three months, beginning upon the first day of July, and to continue till the last day of September; Mr. Samuel Row, minister at Kirkmabrick, and Mr. Alexander Livingston, minister at Carmichael, for the next three months, beginning the first day of October, and to continue till the last day of December; Mr. Henry Colwart, minister at Paisley, and Mr. Henry Semple, minister at Killearne, for the last three months, beginning the first day of January 1646, and to continue till the last

day of March in the said year; to repair unto the north of Ireland, and there to visit, comfort, instruct, and encourage the scattered flocks of Christ—according to the direction of Jesus Christ, and according to the doctrine and discipline of this church in all things."

To meet general Monro's application for a chaplain, the following provision was made: "The assembly desire Messrs. David Dickson, Andrew Cant, Robert Blair, and John Livingston, to consider of an able, well-qualified young man fit to be minister to general-major Monroe and his regiment, which being now the head-quarters, and lying in an eminent place [Carrickfergus], the key of these northern parts in Ireland, doth, for these and many other reasons, require an able man." They also wrote a letter to the general himself, expressing their sympathy with the army in their privations, and assuring him that they had warmly recommended his case to the Scottish parliament then sitting, and that they duly appreciated his services on behalf of the church. "It was," say they, "most refreshing unto us, when we heard, as from those who were sent from your presbytery, so from some of our commissioners who were sent from us for to labour for a season in the Lord's work there, of your forwardness and zeal in advancing that work, and resolute assistance ye gave unto the presbytery. We pray the Lord to bless you, and entreat you to go on without fainting, as you would have the Lord to countenance you in your employment, and others to be mindful of you."

Nor was their care for the due religious instruction of the army in Ireland confined to the general's regiment. At the assembly in 1643, the viscount Ards, or as he was more generally styled, the lord Montgomery, had also applied for a chaplain to be sent over to his regiment; (2) and the commission of the church had subsequently nominated a minister to that charge; but the present meeting, finding he had not yet complied with that appointment, urged his imme-

[2] See vol. i. page 393.

diate departure in terms of the following minute: "The general assembly, understanding that Mr. James Nasmith was appointed by the commissioners of the late assembly to attend the lord Montgomeric's regiment, and having heard the said Mr. James, personally present, finds that he hath been too slow in repairing to that regiment, and therefore ordains him to go unto the said regiment presently without any delay."

The petitions from Derry and its vicinity were next taken into consideration; and, though the assembly had already appointed the usual number of their brethren to visit the north of Ireland generally, yet feeling the strong claims of that extensive district for a special supply of ministers, they made the following additional appointment: — "The general assembly, having considered the petitions presented unto them in behalf of the counties near Londonderry for ministers, do appoint Mr. Hugh Kennedy for the first time, Mr. Andrew Lauder for the second, Mr. George Hutchinson for the third time, to repair thither for performing ministerial duties, each of them for the space of three months, the first of them beginning the first of July next."

The interference of the assembly was solicited in another matter connected with that part of the country, arising out of the intolerant conduct of Thornton, the mayor of Derry, whose hostility to the Scots has been already noticed. It appears that, in accordance with the directions of a previous assembly, the commission of the church had in 1644 sent over several brethren to Derry, to supply the churches in that city and surrounding district;(3) and that Thornton, the bigoted abettor of prelacy, had violently opposed these ministers, and endeavoured to thwart their efforts for supplying the presbyterians in that quarter with the preaching of the gospel. In particular, it seems that he had, in public and official letters, maliciously slandered and otherwise injured one of these ministers, the Rev. Mr. John Burne. Com-

[3] See vol. i. page 396.

plaint was accordingly made to the present assembly both by the calumniated minister himself, as well as by the presbyterians of that neighbourhood, who commissioned the Rev. Robert Cunningham—formerly a conformist minister, but now a preacher at St. Johnston near Derry—to lay their petitions before the assembly; and, if necessary, to repair to the parliament in London to obtain redress, and to urge them to take the steps requisite for extending to Ulster the ecclesiastical reforms which they had already effected in England. The assembly, conceiving the church of Scotland to be insulted in the person of their commissioner, readily took cognizance of the case; and, in the customary form of procedure, remitted it to the consideration of their committee of bills. On the fifth of February, the following report, containing all the information which can now be obtained respecting this case, was submitted to the assembly: "The committee of bills and overtures having read and considered all the papers remitted to them by the general assembly in the matter of Mr. Thornton, mayor of Londonderry, his slandering of Mr. John Burne; these are to say, a very invective letter direct to the said Mr. John, subscribed by the aforesaid mayor his own hand, together with a more invective one entitled, 'The justification of his letter to Burne,' a copy whereof was presented to the said committee by captain Wallace, asserting upon his honesty the same to be *veram copiam*, and obliging, if it should be found necessary, to produce the principal, together also with the several petitions subscribed by many in and about Londonderry, wherein are largely and feelingly regretted the manifold abuses the said Mr. John, with his colleagues, sustained of the disaffected there; wherein also the said brethren their good carriage and godly behaviour, much tending to the promoting of the Lord's work during their abode in Ireland, is largely to their commendation expressed; the said committee, having seriously considered the premises, finds the said Mr. John very much wronged, and the kirk of Scotland through him, and earnestly recommends the same to the

assembly that they in their wisdom may think on the best way to take order with the same."

The assembly immediately approved of this report, and resolved that the case should be laid, not only before the Scottish parliament then sitting, but also before the English parliament, through the medium of their commissioners attending the Westminster assembly. The following is the letter which the assembly wrote on this occasion to their commissioners in London, which it is necessary to insert, as it shows that the opposition of Thornton, at the head of the royalist faction, was designed to obstruct altogether the revival of presbyterianism in that part of the province, and that therefore the interference of the assembly was both justifiable and necessary.

"Right honourable, reverend, and loving brethren,

"Whereas the bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Cunningham, preacher of God his word, hath commission from diverse parts of the north of Ireland to supplicate to the parliament of England for advancing and setting forward the work of reformation in that land, already begun, but through the means of some malignant commanders and ministers much interrupted by having the lawful form of government and the directory of worship now agreed upon, set up and established by due authority of the said parliament, and all malicious opposers of the said work duly censured and punished. Now, for the better furtherance of the said bearer in that which he hath to do with the said parliament, we do seriously recommend him to your care and assistance; and especially for obtaining redress of the notable injuries done to Mr. John Burne, and our other brethren sent to that kingdom to minister spiritual comfort to the distressed people there upon their earnest suite.(4) So, commend-

4 I have not been able to ascertain the issue of this application to parliament. Other complaints were subsequently preferred against Thornton, who came to London in the beginning of the year 1647, to obtain a settlement of his accounts with the parliament. But enormous errors being

ing you to the Lord's grace, we continue your loving brethren,

"The Ministers and Elders met in this General Assembly."

The assembly was not content with this formal recognition of the petitions of the Ulster presbyterians for a uniformity in religion with the sister kingdoms. In their public and official letter, written at the close of their meeting to their commissioners in London, they again express their anxiety that the directory for worship and the propositions respecting government, which they had just approved and adopted, should be speedily transmitted to Ireland by the parliament, who alone had authority or jurisdiction in that kingdom. They thus conclude that letter:—"It is earnestly desired that the Directorie for worship be sent to Ireland; and that you recommend to the honourable houses of the parliament to think upon the best way for the establishment and practice of it in that kingdom; and that the like course may be taken with the government and other parts of the uniformity so soon as they shall be agreed upon." (5) The assembly, having thus carefully attended to all the desires of their brethren in Ulster expressed in their several petitions, dis-

detected therein, he fled hastily from town and returned to Ireland: upon which the commons, on the 25th of January, ordered him to be arrested and brought over to answer for an overcharge in his accounts to the amount of no less than 27,524*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* Journ. v. 62. He did not, however, long survive, as from the following notice of his peculations he appears to have died before the end of that year. "Monday, March 13, 1647-8. The committee of accompts made certificate to the house of commons of the true state of the business prosecuted by Alexander Goring against Robert Thornton, late mayor of Londonderry, deceased, desiring a course might be taken for securing of the estate of the said Robert Thornton, towards the satisfaction of the sum of 26,000*l.* and upwards, wherewith the said Mr. Goring charged him for provisions for relief of the poor distressed protestants in Londonderry, and other public monies which the said Mr. Thornton had no ways satisfied or discounted for before his death." Rushworth, vii. 1024, 5. Commons' Journals, v. 492.

[5] Printed acts, *ut supra*, p. 299.

missed Mr. Drysdale and captain Wallace with the following commendatory letter, addressed

" To the Reverend Brethren of the Presbytery unto the Army in Ireland.

" Some of those of your members who were sent from you to us, having carefully attended in every thing that was committed to them for their despatch from this assembly, are now to return; we think fit to write with them unto you, hearing from them of your diligence and care in promoving of the great work of the Lord, notwithstanding of manifold oppositions, that you might be encouraged without fainting to go on unto the utmost of your power to set forward that work as watchmen entrusted by God, so that you may be, in these difficult times, not only a comfort of that army whereof you have the charge; but that you may also be for the strengthening and encouragement of that poor land wherein for the time ye are. There is ane 'Warning' sent out from this assembly to the whole kingdom, and to the armies within and without the kingdom, which we earnestly recommend to you, that you would be careful to have it read in your several stations.(6) We commend you and the work in your hands to the Lord, and rest in him, your loving brethren,

" The Ministers and Elders convened in this Assembly." (7)

Encouraged by these proceedings of the assembly, the presbytery prosecuted with renewed diligence the work of evangelizing Ulster. One of their first measures, after the return

6 This paper is entitled, " A solemn and seasonable warning to the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burrows, Ministers, and Commons of Scotland; as also to our armies without and within this kingdom."

7 The account which I have given in the text of the varied and important proceedings of this assembly in relation to Ulster, with the several letters, &c is taken from the records of the church of Scotland, *penes* the Rev. Dr. Lee.

of their commissioners, was to take steps for the instruction and conversion of the Roman catholic population to whom they had access. But this laudable attempt, which it is pleasing to notice, was, in accordance with the intolerant spirit of that age, from which even the presbyterians were not exempt, to be followed by the infliction of civil penalties on those who adhered to their errors. The proceedings of the presbytery are thus narrated by Adair. "About this time, April 1645, the presbytery finding the Irish papists, partly who had not been in rebellion, partly who had come in under protection, to grow numerous in the country, and considering their numbers might thereafter prove dangerous to the protestant religion, and that by the treaty between Scotland and England no toleration is to be given papists; and also pitying their souls in their ignorant and hardened condition, made an act that they should be dealt with by the several ministers to convince them of their idolatry and errors, and bring them to own the truth; or otherwise to enter into process against them in order to excommunication. And they appointed some of their number to speak to the general-major, that he use that authority he hath for forcing them out of this part, and wholly out of the army if they remain obstinate. This act of the presbytery was publickly intimated in the several parish churches."

During these proceedings the last two ministers appointed by the previous assembly in 1644, arrived and joined the presbytery. One of these was the Rev. John Livingston, who now, for the third time since the rebellion, visited Ulster the seat of his early labours. He had the satisfaction, during his stay, of assisting at the settlement of two ministers in important charges in the county of Antrim. In the month of April the Rev. David Buttle was called to be their pastor by the presbyterians of Ballymena and its vicinity, encouraged by Sir Robert Adair, who frequently sat as elder with the presbytery; (8) and about the same time, the Rev. Archi-

8 The Rev. Mr. Buttle, or Buthel, continued to be minister at Ballymena for above twenty years. He was imprisoned by the republican party in

BALD FERGUSON was called to Antrim,(9) the people of which town had some time before, with the concurrence of Sir John Clotworthy, endeavoured, but without success, to obtain for their pastor Mr. Livingston, whose praise was throughout all the churches. A similar attempt was now made by the people of two other places. "The parishes of Newtonards and Killileagh supplicated the presbytery to concur for a call to Mr. John Livingston (being then present at the presbytery, and formerly a minister in Ireland,) to their parishes, each of them endeavouring to have him. Mr. Livingston entered a protestation that these calls be not prejudicial to the interest of Stranraer, his parish and people in Scotland. This motion, however, had no success. For though the parish of Killinchy did many years after that, in the year 1655 or thereabout, call Mr. Livingston, and he came to Ireland then for a visit upon their call, and Mr. Hamilton was also invited to Ballywalter; yet these motions for bringing back these worthy men to Ireland did not succeed. They had been driven out of this country, and were necessitated and clearly called to settle in Scotland thereafter, and became singularly useful there, and subject to the assembly of the church of Scotland and other church jurisdictions, who would not part with them. However, about this time Providence supplied the defect, partly by sending over a new supply of able ministers from Scotland one year after another by turns; and thereafter by sending over divers young men near together in 1645 and 1646, besides Mr. Ferguson and

Carrickfergus in 1650. At a visitation-presbytery held in Ballymena in June 1655, I find it stated that Mr. Buttle had his stipend of 40*l.* per ann. secured by the bond of Sir Robert Adair; but that he had neither glebe nor manse. In 1662 he was deposed, with the rest of his brethren, by Jeremy Taylor, the new bishop of Down and Connor. He nevertheless continued to officiate privately among his people till his death, the precise period of which I have not been able to ascertain; but I find another minister in this congregation in the year 1670, who had been probably ordained there a year or two previously.

9 The Rev. Mr. Ferguson continued in Antrim till his death in the end of the year 1654.

Mr. Buttle." The reflections in which the historian of these events indulges at this period of his 'NARRATIVE,' are too just and striking to be omitted.

"And here it were sinful to pass by and not to mark God's wonderful providence in ordering the beginning and foundation of a church here; first raised out of the ruin and ashes into which it had been formerly brought through the prosecution of the prelates first, and then by a bloody rebellion and massacre by the barbarous Irish papists; by which ruins it was brought very low, having before been but as an embryo. Then the first visible relief was by the Scotch army sent from Scotland against the Irish rebels; these generally consisting of officers who had no inclination towards religion, except in so far as the times and state who employed them seemed to favour it; only their chief commander general-major Monroe was no unfriend, but a countenancer of these beginnings. However, the officers generally were profane, and the bulk of the soldiers, yea, haters of the purity and power of religion. There was no visible encouragement in the country for planting a ministry in congregations. For the inhabitants were but few, and these much oppressed and burdened through the maintaining of the army, which was much neglected at this time in their pay through mistakes between the parliament of England and some officers of the army sent thither: or, rather, the indiscreet management of the army's officers, by their commissioner George Monroe. Besides, there was a stock of old conformist ministers in the country, who had for their own ends gone along with the covenant, and yet returned to their former disposition. They were labouring to carry a faction in the country and army for their way, and had many to back them, especially men of most note both in army and country, and in whose eyes the little beginning of a presbytery was despicable; consisting at first only of a few in the army, and two new planted in the country. Insomuch that divers of them did refuse to appear before the presbytery; and others who did appear denied their authority, having then no shadow of establishment by king or parliament, and

thereafter, when times seemed better, very little countenance from authority. It was also the wonderful hand of God to bring men from Scotland at this time (for from England none could be had of sound principles, having then some encouragement at home, and having antipathy to come to Ireland); considering that Scotland had then use for hopeful young men to plant among themselves. And almost none came hither who had not calls from congregations to stay there in their own native country, among their friends, having proportion of settled maintenance. Whereas, coming here, they came to a place unsettled, where was a mixture of three divers nations, their maintenance neither competent nor what was promised secured to them, and coming moreover during the time of a bloody war, when nothing was settled in the country. That these few young men should have hazarded themselves in such a case was the Lord's hand over-ruling them; and it was more his hand that they were, in any tolerable measure, helped in their so difficult and discouraging a work; considering they were but young, not attained to maturity of judgment, nor having had any experience in the government of the church, especially in the midst of difficulties, and none of the old stock, who had been there before, were settled among them. Yet God helped these young men into a diligent following of their duty, not only in their own congregations where they did reside, but in watering desolate congregations in the country, and in keeping presbyterial meetings. Insomuch, that sometimes they were necessitated to be as often abroad in other congregations in the country for supply, and for stirring up the people for their own supply, as in their own; and this by the appointment of the presbyterial meetings, upon petition from these desolate places. These young men then minding their work, and delighting therein, mutually comforting themselves in the company of one another at their meetings in the presbytery, and not considering their present toil but with a kind of honest delight, not foreseeing the hazard they were in through the unsettledness of the times and many adversaries; which also they felt thereafter. And,

indeed, want of that sort of sagacity and anxiousness was their mercy; for, had they foreseen but the half of what they after did meet with, their young raw spirits, not experienced in affliction, could not have digested it." (10)

During the summer of this year, the ministers appointed by the last general assembly visited by turns the several vacant congregations; and no event occurred to interrupt the growing prosperity and extension of the church. The confusion into which Scotland was now plunged, by the rapid and overwhelming successes of Montrose, was advantageous to the Scottish interest in Ulster. That gallant and enterprising, though cruel and vindictive, nobleman had taken up arms for Charles; and had placed himself at the head of several highland clans, reinforced by fifteen hundred Irish sent from Ulster by the earl of Antrim:—the same who, under Alaster Macdonnell, as already related, had captured Messrs. Weir and Hamilton on their return to Scotland. By a succession of victories, followed with plunder and devastation to a fearful extent, Montrose spread consternation and terror throughout the whole of Scotland. His brilliant career of victory was, on the fifteenth of August, crowned by the decisive battle of Kilsythe, in which the forces of the covenanters were routed; and, no quarter being given, they were almost annihilated by the savage and unrelenting fury with which they were massacred in their flight. For a time the cause of Charles appeared to be triumphant throughout Scotland; and the more prominent leaders of the popular party, with many others desirous of escaping the evils of civil war, were compelled to retire from the kingdom. Ulster, which was now in comparative tranquillity, afforded them a favourable and convenient asylum; hither, therefore, numbers fled who, being ultimately induced to settle in the country, tended considerably to increase the presbyterian population. "Many families," says Adair, "fled from Scotland to Ireland for shelter from the earl of Montrose, who against six divers

(10) Adair's MS.

armies carried all before him, having overcome them in six battles; and these families not of the worst affected. And though persons of quality returned to Scotland again, yet many of the more common sort of people staid in the country, and added to the new plantation here." (11)

The presbyterian interest in Ulster was still more effectually strengthened by the presence and countenance of the commissioners from the English parliament, who came over, as already stated, in the latter end of October. Their appointment to the office of "governors of the province of Ulster" had taken place in the month of September; but the difficulty of providing the supplies which had been promised to be forwarded along with them, retarded their departure. (12) The representations made to parliament by the Scottish commissioners, in conformity with the assembly's letter, together with the influence of the agent from Derry, the Rev. Mr. Cunningham, then in London, no doubt contributed to secure the appointment of these commissioners. (13) They were ac-

11 Adair's MS. Cook's Church of Scotland, iii. 109.

12 Commons' Journals, Sept. 16th, 23d, and 25th, vol. iv. 276, 284 and 285.

13 The petition with which Mr. Cunningham was entrusted from the north of Ireland, was read in the commons on the 16th of April, by whom it was specially recommended to the Westminster assembly of divines, "to consider how the desires of the petitioners, to be furnished with some able, learned, religious, preaching ministers, may be effectually granted to the relief and comfort of their souls." Sir John Clotworthy, the steady friend of the presbyterians of Ulster, was appointed to take charge of this matter. Journ. iv. 113. Accordingly, on the 13th of May the joint committee of lords and commons for the affairs of Ireland, were directed to advise with the assembly of divines respecting the providing of proper ministers and suitable means for their encouragement; and it was further voted by the commons, "That all such ministers as shall be willing and be approved of to go into Ireland, shall have, for their present subsistence and maintenance, one hundred pounds per annum, each of them." Journ. iv. 544. The next notice I find of this subject is on the 4th of January, 1647, when the commons appointed a committee to prepare an ordinance, for establishing and settling the same form of church-government in the kingdom of Ireland, as is or

companied to Ireland by a chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Warr; and, on their arrival, they fixed their stated residence at Belfast. It was not long before an incident occurred which called for their interference on behalf of the presbytery. Their conduct on this occasion, and the general course of their policy towards the presbyterian church, are thus narrated by Adair.

"Toward the end of this year, 1645, the ministers of the Route formerly mentioned, and others, take hold of a seeming opportunity to interfere with the presbytery. The parliament of England having in October sent over the commissioners to Ulster, to rule the affairs of this country, viz. Mr. Annesley, afterwards the earl of Anglesey, Sir Robert King, and colonel Beale; these ministers, viz. Messrs. Fullerton, Watson, Vesey, and M^cNeill, applied to them, accusing the presbytery of bringing a foreign jurisdiction against the laws of Ireland, that the presbytery take on them to exercise authority over them, &c. Of which the commissioners gave notice to the presbytery, sending them a copy of the said libel. And they met with these commissioners at Belfast by translating the presbytery thither, when they sent some of their members to the commissioners, to give them satisfaction as to these accusations and reflections. Which they having done, the commissioners were satisfied. But withal the presbytery told the commissioners they did not appear before them in answering the libel, as their proper judges in matters ecclesiastical; but as persons in the quality and station they were now in, as they were bound to do to all men, and especially to those in civil authority. Here the commissioners sat in presbytery, the presbytery was encouraged and countenanced, and the other dismissed without satisfaction. The commissioners also did give order, at the presbytery's desire,

shall be established in the kingdom of England: they are further to consider of some fit ways and means for the advancing and maintaining a preaching ministry in the kingdom of Ireland." Journ. v. 40.

that the covenant should be tendered to such as had not taken it at Carrickfergus, Belfast, Lisnegarvey, &c. which was done accordingly. They also did give a right of the tythe of parishes to as many of the new intrants as did apply to them; and did add the civil sanction to the presbytery, and gave commission to cognosce upon the lives and abilities of scandadalous ministers in the Lagan, encouraging the presbytery if they found cause to pass censure on them, which accordingly was done. Some said this gratifying the presbytery was a piece of emulation and state-policy, they finding general-major Monroe and the army had a great stroke in this country and in Ulster, partly through countenancing these courses. Therefore they would not be behind them in giving all countenance to the presbytery. However, this did much daunt these sorts of ministers at that time, and did strengthen the hands of the few new beginners. For at this time there were none settled of the country ministers but two, [Mr. Drysdale and Mr. Baty in Down;] and in Antrim but other two, Mr. Buttle and Mr. Ferguson; and the other party were many in all parts of the country. It is true some unfriends did reflect at this time as if the presbytery had taken commission from the magistrate to exercise their authority, and some friends did scruple at the first offer made by the commissioners; because then the Erastian spirit much prevailed in the parliament of England. But the commissioners at the very first assured them it was not to make the presbytery or their discipline subordinate to the magistrate; but only an accumulative power which they intended, and which accordingly they did give them by their commission or warrant. Upon this, the appointed ministers and elders went to the Lagan, preached daily, erected sessions, took depositions against scandalous ministers, and made way for calling ministers to congregations. And there the people of the country did accuse divers of these ministers, and brought in witnesses, making eviden their lewd lives and unministerial carriage. Upon which they were first suspended by the commissioners, and then deposed by the

presbytery. And the people thereafter petitioned the presbytery by captain Hamilton and captain Kennedy, for supply of ministers by turns, the whole of the country being then void of ministers except one, Mr. Robert Cunningham, who had been a conformist, and then seemed to be serious in the profession of the truth, and was then at Taboin, alias St. Johnston. Upon which the presbytery did send them ministers, the commissioners also concurring with the desire, by turns, as they became able and in any measure furnished; and continued the supply till the Lagan got some little stock of ministers amongst themselves.

"At this time, the Lord helped the very small number of ministers in the presbytery to diligence in stirring up the parishes in the country, that were then all generally desolate, to seek after ministers and consider some way of maintaining them. For which end they appointed one minister and four or five of the most knowing elders, who had weight in these parts, to the principal parishes which wanted. And this was not without fruit: for the parishes set about means for that end, as they were in a capacity, which was the means of hastening divers young men out of Scotland, as was before related. The fewness and weakness of the presbytery at this time was supported by God's special countenance, by the honesty of the men, and by the goodness of their cause and intentions: as well as that the commander of the Scotch army did in his own person usually sit with them at Carrickfergus, besides divers other officers who were elders of other regiments. And thereafter it was a great encouragement that the commissioners of the parliament of England did own the actings of the presbytery. So that, though God did not build his temple here by might nor by power, yet so much of the countenance of these in power and authority as was necessary for the day of small things was not wanting in the beginning."

The efforts of this small band of faithful and resolute ministers to supply the presbyterian population with the

preaching of the gospel were, in several quarters, still thwarted by the conformist clergy. Mr. Buttle, of Ballymena, was in particular opposed by the Rev. Dr. Colville, an eager and intolerant prelatist, although a Scotchman, who was then resident on his estate in that neighbourhood. He had been one of the few clergymen who joined in the petition to Strafford, to impose the black oath on his countrymen in Ulster; and he now railed against the presbyterian ministers, as intruders not only into the ministry but into the province. He possessed considerable property in the county; yet notwithstanding his wealth and influence, and his contempt of their authority, the presbytery determined to proceed against him. Their process, however, was suspended in consequence of the interference of the English commissioners, who were anxious to bring over a person of his weight to the side of the parliament. Their proceedings against this formidable opponent are thus recorded in the artless narrative of Adair.

"The presbytery at this time and a while before did use great diligence to convince doctor Colville of divers unsuitable carriages, both in private discourse with some of their number, and by summoning him before the presbytery; and had witnesses to prove these allegations against him. But he never appeared, except one time before the commissioners at Belfast; at which time he would not direct his speech to the moderator, but to the commissioners. He had also beforehand applied to the commissioners, vindicating himself and insinuating on them. Upon this they desired the presbytery to deal with him as favourably as they could, in regard they had use for the doctor in reference to their affairs in the country; he being a man knowing that way. The presbytery had gone so far before the commissioners came over, that he was publickly prayed for in order to excommunication. Yet thereafter they found it not convenient to proceed further; and some knowing friends thought it had been greater prudence to have let him alone; since he now

owned subordination and did not preach. (14) However, his wife and son did take the covenant administered to them by Mr. David Buttle, and that by order of the presbytery in a public way: for the presbytery received none into the covenant but before the congregation. Yea, when the commissioners from the parliament begun to receive some to the covenant privately, the presbytery, hearing of it, sent to them and admonished them; whereupon they promised to forbear that way of administering it, and allow that those should take it again publickly."

While the parliamentary commissioners were thus favouring the presbyterian interest in Ulster, they were not inattentive to the other and not less urgent part of their commission—that of organizing a party in Ulster prepared, when called on, to support the parliament in opposition to the Scots. Mutual jealousies between these confederated allies had already ripened into public alienation, which not long after terminated in open hostility. The independents, by means of the self-denying ordinance and the new elections, were rapidly gaining the preponderance both in the army and in the house of commons. The presbyterians, though supported by the city of London and an influential minority in parlia-

14 Mr. Alexander Colville was, on the 6th of September 1626, admitted vicar of Coole or Carmoney, on the presentation of Edward lord viscount Chichester; in which parish he succeeded Mr. Glendinning on his removal to Oldstone or Muckamore. See vol. i. p. 107. Two years afterwards, on the presentation of Charles I. Mr. Colville was made precentor of Connor and rector of Ballymoney. He was doctor of divinity in 1636, when he was present at the funeral of the first viscount Montgomery of the Ards. Mont. MSS. p. 112. He enjoyed several other church preferments, and resided on his property at Galgorm, afterwards called Mount-Colville, in the neighbourhood of Ballymena. His son, Sir Robert Colville, knight, about the year 1675 purchased from the second earl of Mount Alexander the estate of Newton-Ards where he and his descendants chiefly resided, until it was sold in 1744 by Robert Colville, esq. to Alexander Stewart, father of the first Marquis of Londonderry. Sir Robert's grand-daughter and heir married the first lord Mountcashel, by whose family the estate at Galgorm is still possessed. The reader will find a curious character of Sir Robert, who was active at the revolution, in Henry lord Clarendon's State Letters, vol. i. pp. 70, 71.

ment, as well as by the decided majority of the sober and intelligent part of the population, yet at this period rested chiefly upon the assistance of the Scots to enable them to secure that full measure of ecclesiastical reform, to which all parties stood solemnly pledged by the covenant. The independents, though unable to withstand the almost universal desire of the people for the setting up of the presbyterian government, had determined so to mutilate and cripple the new establishment as to render it obnoxious to its friends, and favourable to their own faction. With this view the commons, by their celebrated vote of the thirteenth of May, afterwards embodied in their ordinance of the subsequent month of March, resolved to impose upon the presbyterian church in England the same erastian yoke which had oppressed the prelatical church, and to perpetuate the same abuse which still vitiates and nullifies its discipline—the right of appeal, in matters purely spiritual, from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts. The parliament sought to take away from sessions and presbyteries the power of suspension from the Lord's table; or, at all events, to subject it to the control of the state. They appointed lay commissioners with power to modify or reverse ecclesiastical censures; to every unworthy person excluded from communion they gave the right of appeal to these commissioners; and the parliament itself was constituted the last resort in all disputed cases of discipline! As might be expected, the Scots and the presbyterian party warmly opposed these measures. The Westminster assembly, in particular, "felt the greatest repugnance to the interference of the civil power in the question of disqualifications to participate in religious ordinances, and petitioned the two houses accordingly. They went so far in their petition as to say, that, if the ministers and elders were not sufficiently authorised to keep away all wicked and scandalous persons from the sacrament, they foresaw that not only they, but many of their godly brethren, must be put to the hard choice, either to forsake their stations in the church, or to partake in the sins which must result and they added

that, in that alternative, they were resolved with God's grace to chuse affliction rather than iniquity." (15)

This collision on the subject of religion was succeeded by jealousies respecting the Scottish army in the north of England. The presence of this force gave increased confidence and weight to the presbyterian party in the city and in the parliament, which they would not otherwise have possessed; the policy of their opponents, therefore, obviously was to excite such suspicions of the sincerity of these forces, and such complaints of their inactivity and of the burden of their support, as to lead to their speedy removal out of the kingdom. With this view the majority in the parliament, during the month of October, published several declarations of a hostile nature. "They resolved that the continuance of the Scots army in the northern parts was not only unserviceable, but prejudicial to the ends for which their assistance had been desired, and destructive to those parts of the kingdom,—and that their laying contributions and raising money upon the subjects of this kingdom was contrary to the treaty. The two houses further declared that the inhabitants were free from any obligation to pay these impositions, and once again demanded that the Scottish garrisons should be removed from Carlisle, Newcastle, and the other fortresses in the north which they at present held." (16)

In pursuance of the same line of policy, the parliament on the thirteenth of November voted that the garrison of Belfast should be surrendered by the Scottish forces to their commissioners in Ulster, on or before the eleventh of January. (17) Letters to this effect were accordingly despatched to the

[15] Godwin, ii. 67. [16] Ibid. ii. 59. Journals, Oct. 14 and 21, 1645.

[17] I find that on the 13th of December letters were received by the 'committee of both Kingdoms,' then at Edinburgh, from Ireland "anent the posture of affairs in that kingdome; and desyring that commissioners from Scotland with speed may be sent to Ireland, for the joynt managing of the warre ther." Balf. iii. 332. It does not appear however that these were sent over; for on the 15th of June 1646, the commons gave their own commissioners power to act alone. Journals, iv. 578 and 689.

Scottish parliament, then sitting at Edinburgh, which were received in the end of December; and about the same time possession of the town was formally demanded from colonel Home, commander of the garrison, who refused to comply without instructions from the estates of Scotland. Monro accordingly, on the twenty-sixth of December, wrote to the Scottish parliament, informing them of this unexpected demand, and requesting directions how to proceed; at the same time expressing his decided opinion, "if that they condescendit to the Englische to pairt with the toune of Belfast, that they might lykwayes pairt with all their interest in Ireland." (18) This letter was received and read in the parliament on the fifteenth of January, and referred to the "Committee of Dispatches," who replied to Monro; but what the tenor of their reply was cannot be ascertained. No formal surrender, however, of the town took place; (19) and soon after a circumstance occurred, which caused a change in the policy of the parliament, and rendered it inexpedient for them, at this crisis, to repeat the ungracious demand, or to come to an open rupture with the Scots. This circumstance

[18] Balfour, iii. 338, 357.

[19] The vote of the parliament for the surrender of Belfast was grounded on this plea, that the original treaty between England and Scotland did not warrant the troops of the latter to possess any garrison save Carrickfergus and Coleraine. Com. Journ. iv. 340. The commons persisted in this demand (see Journals, iv. 353, 443, 544, 578, and particularly 608); but the lords, who were more favourable to the presbyterian party, appear to have been reluctant to concur in it, as it was not till after repeated messages from the other house that they agreed to it on the last day of July 1646. Com. Journ. iv. 622, 625, 631. During the negotiations with the Scots throughout the remainder of the year, the subject was not resumed; but the moment that the latter had evacuated England, and the parliament had gained possession of the king, one of their first steps was on the 4th of Feb. 1647, to appoint commissioners to repair to the Scottish estates at Edinburgh, with instructions to renew the demand for the surrender of Belfast in the following urgent terms: "You are to press with all the instance that you can, the present delivery of the said town and the castle there, it being a thing so much concerning the forces in that kingdom." Com. Journ. v. 74.

was—the unexpected arrival of Charles in the quarters of the Scottish forces at Newark.

The king had never been able to recover from the loss which he sustained in the fatal battle of Naseby. During the remainder of the campaign his forces were wholly unable to resist those of the parliament, his military resources were exhausted, and the defeat of Montrose in Scotland extinguished the hope which he once confidently entertained of retrieving the fortune of his arms. His only alternative was intrigue and negociation. Fully apprised of the dissensions which had lately sprung up between the two great parties among his opponents, the independents and presbyterians, he now endeavoured to profit by their jealousies; and by a secret correspondence with both, he sought to induce either the one or the other to adopt him as their ally against their rivals. "I am not without hope," he writes in March 1646, to one of his confidential friends, "that I shall be able so to draw either the presbyterians or independents to side with me for extirpating the one the other, so that I shall be really king again." (20) "To the independents he urged the tyranny of the presbyterians, and the necessity of combining with him for their own security. To the presbyterians he represented that the independents were averse to monarchical government, and would sacrifice the interest of Scotland to their levelling principles, and that, therefore, their only chance of safety lay in joining with him, in order to subdue the independents." (21) These negociations, however, were ineffectual; both parties had too many proofs of his hypocrisy to trust to his professions; and the Scots, though more favourable to his cause than the independents, wholly refused to co-operate with him except on the conditions which they had originally proffered, and to which they steadfastly adhered — his subscribing the covenant, and concurring in establishing presbytery in England as he had done in Scotland. These concessions Charles was resolved not to make;

[20] Carte, iii. 452. [21] Brodie, iv. 60.

but the urgency of his situation at Oxford, surrounded and almost blockaded by the parliamentary forces under the dreaded Fairfax, his victor at Naseby, rendered further negotiations impracticable. He therefore resolved, as his only hope, to join the Scottish forces without any previous agreement, and to try what effect might be produced in his favour by the sight of his present humiliation, the remembrance of his former dignity, the possible revival of their hereditary attachment to the ancient line of their kings, and his own subtle arts of intrigue and dissimulation. Accordingly, in the latter end of April he left Oxford at midnight, disguised as a servant to Ashburnham, one of his own attendants, and carrying a portmanteau behind him on his horse. He was accompanied by a clergyman well acquainted with the cross-roads of the adjoining counties; and after several narrow escapes, on the morning of the fifth of May—the ninth day after his departure from Oxford—he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark. This unexpected event terminated the first civil war, after it had continued for four years; and gave the Scots and the presbyterian party, now in possession of the king, a temporary ascendancy over the parliament and the independents. (22)

The effect of this suspension of hostilities was felt in Ireland. The English commissioners relinquished, for the present, their design of obtaining exclusive possession of Belfast. They were content to reside there though garrisoned by the Scots, with whom they cordially co-operated against the Irish, now united with Ormond on behalf of the king. In the month of March a treaty of peace had, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the papal nuncio, been at length concluded by that nobleman with the supreme council of the confederates at Kilkenny. This peace, however, instead of allaying, only increased the commotions in Ireland. It raised up a third, or extreme catholic party, headed by the nuncio, in opposition to the more moderate, or confederate

22 Godwin, ii. 264.

Romanists, who had joined Ormond. The former, being destitute of military strength, paid court to Owen Roe O'Neill and the Ulster Irish, and persuaded that experienced general to join their standard, and declare against the peace. One of the first effects of this coalition was the reinforcement of O'Neill's army and his descent upon Ulster, with nearly five thousand foot and five hundred horse. In the meantime Monro and the English commissioners had previously resolved to take the field. Having collected about four thousand foot with eleven troops of horse and six field-pieces, and having despatched a messenger to colonel George Monro at Coleraine with directions to meet them on their march, they proceeded, on the second of June, towards Armagh. The marquis of Argyle's regiment, having returned only two days before from Scotland, after the defeat and dispersion of Montrose's forces, could not be prepared in time to join the army. They were, therefore, left under the command of Campbell of Auchinbreck to protect the quarters at Carrickfergus. The English commissioners accompanied Monro as far as Dromore, whence they returned to Belfast.

On the fourth, Monro despatched a party of horse, under his lieutenant Daniel Monro, to proceed by way of Benburb to meet colonel Monro, who was advancing by Dungannon with above two hundred infantry and three troops of horse, and to direct him to rendezvous at Glaslough on the following day. This small party unexpectedly encountered the Irish vanguard near Armagh; and, by means of a prisoner whom they took, Monro was informed that the enemy, to the number of five thousand with twelve troops of horse, were on their march from Glaslough with the view of taking up a position at Benburb and Charlemont. The general accordingly recalled his party under lieutenant Monro, and marched that night to Hamilton's Bawn. Early on the morning of Friday the fifth of June, he advanced towards Armagh, purposely in sight of O'Neill's camp, to deter him from detaching any part of his force to intercept colonel Monro. He did not succeed, however, in this manœuvre;

a party was sent to attack the colonel, but the latter drove them back. Finding the enemy in possession of the pass and bridge at Benburb, and strongly entrenched, Monro proceeded to cross the river Blackwater further up at Kinnard or Caledon, which he effected without molestation. Both parties, being now on the same side of the river, prepared for battle. O'Neill, observing the approach of the Scots, despatched colonel Richard O'Ferral to occupy a pass on their march; but lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, supported by the artillery, soon compelled O'Ferral to retire, and cleared the way for the advance of the cavalry, who in the absence of colonel George Monro were commanded by lord Montgomery of the Ards. The detachment from O'Neill's army, which had been repulsed by colonel Monro, now rejoined the main body of the Irish, although the colonel was unable to effect a junction with the Scots. The latter were not only weakened by the want of this expected reinforcement; but they were much jaded and fatigued, having been on their march for above twelve hours, and consequently fought under considerable disadvantage. About six o'clock in the afternoon both armies engaged; and soon after O'Neill, finding had the advantage in numbers as well as in position, ordered his troops to advance to the assault. "His orders were well executed; the English regiment commanded by lord Blaney maintained their ground till he and most of his men were cut off. But O'Neill's cavalry soon broke into the Scots' horse, who being pushed and falling foul on their foot, disordered the whole body, and a general rout ensued. Sir James Montgomery's regiment was the only one which retired in a body; all the others fled in the utmost confusion, and most of the infantry were cut in pieces. Colonel Conway, after having two horses shot under him, made his escape almost miraculously to the Newry, with captain Burke and about forty horse. Lord Montgomery was taken prisoner with about twenty-one officers and one hundred and fifty common soldiers. There were found 3243 slain on the field of battle, and others were killed the next day in the pursuit. O'Neill

had only about seventy killed and two hundred wounded; he took all the Scots' artillery, being four field-pieces, with most of their arms, thirty-two colours, their tents and baggage. The booty was very great; fifteen hundred draught horses being taken, and two months' provisions for the Scots' army; enough to serve the Ulster Irish (an hardy people, used to live on potatoes and butter, and content generally with only milk and shoes) double the time. Monroe fled without his wig and coat to Lisnegarvey, and immediately burnt Dundrum, deserted Portadown, Clare, Glenery, Downpatrick, and other places; sent for the Lagan forces to his assistance, and ordered the country to rise, every household being to furnish two musketeers. This caused a general consternation; great numbers fled into Scotland; and the counties of Down and Antrim would have been lost, in a great measure, if either by accident or by an adventurous policy, all Monroe's ammunition had not been blown up when the battle was lost; and if the nuncio, who received the news of the victory on June 13th at Limerick, had not despatched an express to O'Neill to congratulate his victory, and to desire him to march with his forces to support him in his opposition to the peace. The messengers overtook O'Neill at Tandragee as he was ready to fall into the Scots quarters; yet to show his obedience to the nuncio, he resolved to march with his whole army towards Kilkenny. He accordingly quitted the opportunity of conquests in Ulster, and marched into Leinster; his soldiers making horrible depredations in the country." (23)

23 Carte, i. 576, 7. The account of this battle given in the text is taken from O'Neill's Journal, which is printed at length in Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 341--47, and 502—6; and though the victory was a most decided one, yet the loss of the Scots is considerably exaggerated by the Irish general. I subjoin Monroe's version of the concluding part of the engagement, and of the cause of his defeat, taken from his letter to the English parliament, dated at Carrickfergus on the 11th of June, six days after the battle. "About sun-set I perceived the enemy making ready for a general assault, first with his foot, and his horse coming up behind his foot to second them. I had given order to a squadron of our horse to break through them before they should

The effect which this unexpected reverse of fortune produced is thus related by Adair. "The British and Scotch armies received a sad blow at Benburb, near the Blackwater; they were wholly routed, and many slain, and some taken prisoners; among whom was the lord of Ards, then a youth. This rout sadly alarmed the country, as well as the army, who were called together in divers companies to march to the borders of the country, for defence of it against the enemy if he should pursue his victory, together with the

advance to our foot; that squadron of horse, consisting for the most part of Irish riders, although under the English command, did not charge, but retreated disorderly through our foot, making the enemies horse for to follow them, at least one squadron. Notwithstanding thereof, our foot stood to it, and received the enemies battalions, body to body, with push of pike; till at last our second squadron of horse charged the enemies horse and fell pell-mell amongst our foot; who, being hurried into disorder, had no way of retreat but to wade the Black-water when it was scarce fordable, and by that means, and the darknesse of the night, many of our foot escaped, with the losse of some few officers, six field pieces, and some colours. So that by all appearance the Irish under the Lisnegarvey horsemen had a purpose to betray the army by their running away, leaving the foot to be cut down, who were also deserted by the rest of the horse after retiring from their last charge: the enemy falling on our baggage, the baggage horses being all gone, they loved the spoyle better then to prosecute the victory. So that we lost of the foote, at the nearest conjecture, five or six hundred, and twenty officers were taken prisoners, the lord of Ardes being one. We lost also many armes by reason the souldiers had above fifty miles to retire. And notwithstanding of all our losses the enemy as yet (praised be God,) hath not attempted to prosecute his victory within our quarters; and colonel Monro, with his party, miraculously retreated home from the enemy, who viewed them, without the loss of a man. And now we are making up our forces again, having not lost of our horsemen above thirty, and one cornet who was killed." The lord Blayney who was slain was Henry the second lord, who rescued the fort at Monaghan from the rebels shortly after the rebellion, and held possession of it with his company till this fatal battle. Lodge, vi. 311. Lord Montgomery of the Ards was carried by the Irish to the castle of Cloughouter in Cavan, the same prison to which bishop Bedell had been committed, where he continued closely confined for nearly two years. Montg. MSS. p. 197. Among the slain was captain James Hamilton, son of William of Newcastle, in the county of Down, brother to lord Claneboy. There is a monument to his memory in the parish church of Clonfeckle, at Benburb.

scattered forces who had escaped the slaughter at the Blackwater. But the Lord restrained the remainder of the enemy's wrath; their general, being a bred soldier and a wary man, imagined the army and country would be as bears robbed of their whelps, and in a readiness to fight: whereas indeed they were but faint-hearted, and in a very evil case to encounter an enemy. But God saw the affliction of his people in the country at that time, and would not destroy the new bud of his own work, which was but beginning to spring up; and therefore he did withhold the barbarous Irish from further pursuing, which they might easily have done. Yet it is observable that, a while after this, when Sir Phelim O'Neill sent parties to prey upon the country, and drive the cows of such as they could, the places where the gospel was planted, through lying near these quarters where the rebels came, were preserved from plunder.

"Yet it is not to be forgotten that this stroke came by the righteous hand of God, especially upon the Scotch army. For many of the soldiers were prodigiously profane and wicked in their lives, and set themselves to prey upon the poor country scarce crept from under the ashes of a horrid rebellion; being secure, and without any apprehension of fear from the enemy, and so went to the fields for a prey rather than expecting any encounter, only fearing not to see the enemy, being so full of confidence in their own valour and the enemy's cowardice. Therefore Providence so ordered that they were not together in a body when they met the enemy. Colonel George Monroe, son-in-law to the general-major, a proud self-willed man, having divided a considerable number of the forces and led them another way from Coleraine to meet the general-major before they should encounter the enemy. And the general-major on his march, finding the enemy almost between him and that party, did overmarch the body of the army that very day on purpose to meet with colonel Monroe's party, and prevent the enemy meeting them alone. So that when they came to the view of the enemy the soldiery were tired and faint, as well as discouraged to see a very considerable force,

and they without their expected aid. Besides, it was said the general-major at that time did not so manage the business as it might have been, and had not that spirit of command and conduct which usually he had; the Lord making all these things to concur for bringing a stroke upon a guilty proud party. The presbytery, after this blow and danger in the country, ordered a day of public humiliation for the sins procuring it, and in a great measure yet remaining." (24)

Though for a while the presbytery were perplexed and alarmed by this sudden calamity, their labours in spreading the gospel were not interrupted. The ministers appointed by the last general assembly had terminated their period of service in the month of March. But soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson of Colmonel visited Ulster; and the Rev. John Livingston again came over in company with commissioners, consisting of the marquis of Argyle,(25) Mac-

24 The English commons, on the 20th of June, also "Ordered, that the ministers of the several parishes in and about London, do earnestly recommend in their prayers the languishing condition of the remainder of the poor protestants in Ireland ready to be overrun and wholly destroyed through the fury of the bloody rebels there; who, taking the advantage of their late success in Ulster, use their utmost endeavours totally to root them out of that kingdom, and do exercise very great cruelties upon them." Journ. iv. 583. Such were the exaggerated reports of the proceedings of the Irish in Ulster, so busily circulated and so readily believed!

25 The marquis paid only a hurried visit to Ulster on this occasion. He was suddenly recalled by the Scottish estates in order to proceed in their name to London, to urge the English parliament to conclude a peace with the king, then with the Scots at Newcastle. In a speech which the marquis made before a committee of both houses on the 25th of June, he thus describes the privations to which the Scottish army in Ulster were subject. "As for the army in Ireland, I have been an eye-witness to their sufferings, and so many speak of it likewise upon certain knowledge, that never men have suffered greater hardships who might have been provided. For they have lived many times upon a few beans measured out to them by number, and never had any other drink but water; and when they were in some better condition they had but an Irish peck of rough oats for a whole week. And now, at their best condition, when they are quartered upon the country (which is able to entertain them only for a very short time), they have only an Irish peck of oatmeal, or a shilling in ten days both for meat and drink." See a

dougal of Garthland, and John Kennedy, provost of Ayr, who were sent by the estates of Scotland to confer with the English commissioners respecting the settlement of affairs in Ireland. During the stay of those experienced ministers, the presbytery had applications on behalf of several young men from Scotland, to receive them on trial with a view to their settlement in Ulster. But they wisely resolved to proceed with caution, and to receive or ordain those only who were adequately recommended, as well as acceptable to the people of the vacant parishes. "The presbytery at this time, when expectants were coming from Scotland, made an act that the young men who came over should have sufficient testimonials, should converse with the most judicious and godly in the places they were called unto, and entertain conference with them; and should sometimes preach in other parishes, and converse with good people there; that private letters should be written by friends here to ministers and other godly persons in Scotland, concerning their conversation while they were there. Hitherto they had the assistance of worthy men from Scotland; and at this time of Mr. George Hutchinson, and thereafter of Mr. John Livingston, by whose assistance also there was a letter written to the general assembly of Scotland from the presbytery, together with a supplication from the country for new supplies of ministers, there being as yet but two in each county settled in parishes.

small pamphlet entitled, "The lord marques of Argyle's speech to a grand committee of both houses of parliament," &c. &c. London, June 27, 1646, pp. 16. It also contains Monro's letter from Carrickfergus, narrating his defeat at Benburb. This pamphlet, with Monro's letter, is reprinted in Rushworth, vi. pp. 298 *et seq.* and 399. It may not be uninteresting to subjoin the prices of a few articles of provisions and military stores, taken from the contract of Mr. John Davies, merchant in Carrickfergus, for the supply of the Scots army in Ireland, as printed in the commons' journals for this year. *Oatmeal*, at 1½*d.* per lb. and again at 16*s.* for 120 lbs.; *cheese*, at 3¼*d.* and 3¾*d.* per lb.; *shirts*, at 2*s.* 10*d.* each; *shoes*, at 2*s.* 10*d.* and 3*s.* 2*d.* per pair; *boots*, at 16*s.* per pair; *iron*, at 20*l.* per ton; *saddles* with furniture, at 19*s.* each; *English firelock musquets* at 17*s.* each, and *matchlock musquets* at 14*s.* each.

This letter and supplication were sent by a minister and ruling elder, who were also appointed to inquire for qualified expectants in order to a call from parishes in this country. They were also commissioned to deal with the assembly for an act of transportability to the ministers who, before the rebellion, had been settled in this country, and instruments in the planting of the gospel in it, these being now in Scotland." (26)

The persons deputed to attend this assembly were the Rev. Mr. Ferguson of Antrim, and, as ruling elder, " Mr. John Edmonstone of Ballybantrim, in Broadisland, near Carickfergus," a member of a family long distinguished for their benevolence and public spirit, and their warm support of the presbyterian church.(27) These commissioners presented

[26] Adair's MS. See the names of these ministers in vol. i. pp. 220-1.

[27] This ancient family was originally settled at Duntreath, in Stirlingshire; and a branch of it was planted in Ireland when Mr. William Edmonstone, about the year 1609, settled in Broadisland. (See vol. i. p. 98.) He had two daughters; one married to Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena (of whom see vol. i. p. 231), whose daughter became the wife of the Rev. Patrick Adair, minister at Cairncastle, mentioned in the latter part of this chapter; the other was married first to John Dalway of Bellahill, esq. and secondly to captain, afterwards colonel James Wallace, already noticed as an officer in Argyle's regiment, and a faithful elder of the presbyterian church. The Edmonstone family resided long at Red-hall, in Broadisland, where they set an example of piety, condescension, charity, and usefulness, which rendered them universally beloved, and caused their removal to be felt as a public loss. In 1780, the then sir Archibald Edmonstone, bart. sold his estate in Broadisland to Mr. Ker; and the family withdrew shortly after from Ireland to their original property in Stirlingshire. The present sir Archibald Edmonstone, bart. well known in the literary world as a distinguished traveller, on the appearance of the former volume of this work, immediately and without any solicitation, placed at my disposal several interesting papers relative to the presbyterian church in this country which he had found among the family records;—an act of kind and considerate attention towards one entirely unknown to him, which, as similar instances rarely occur, deserves to be noticed, and I rejoice in this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging it. Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to add, that the grandson and heir of the first Mr. Edmonstone who came to Ireland was born deaf and dumb, and in consequence of this calamity, then wholly

their papers to the general assembly in Edinburgh on Thursday, the fourth of June, the second day of its meeting. In addition to the usual petition for a further supply of ministers, memorials were submitted from several places, praying the assembly to permit certain ministers who had formerly held charges in Ireland, but who were now settled in Scotland, to remove to these parishes. The presbyterians in the counties of Donegal and Derry also applied for a second supply of ministers; but owing to the press of business before the assembly, their application was remitted to the commission of the church, to whom power was given to "loose any three ministers whom they shall seek and the commission shall find fit for that employment; and to advise them whom they shall loose to follow and embrace a calling in that kingdom, all parties interested being first heard and their interests considered."(28)

The result of these applications to the assembly were communicated to the presbytery on the return of their commissioners. "In July, 1646, Mr. Archibald Ferguson, returning from the assembly of Scotland, reported his diligence, and, among other things given him in commission, stated, that the assembly had declared four ministers transportable from the places they were then in unto Ireland, viz. Messrs. Livingston, Hutcheson, Henderson, and Robert Hamilton, provided their own consent and that of their parishes may be had. Upon this the presbytery, together with the parishes to which they were here respectively designed, to wit, Newtonards, Carrickfergus, Killileagh, and Island-Magee, did

irremediable, the estate passed to his next brother, Archibald. He is described in the family pedigree as having "great vivacity and quickness of imagination, cheerful, with a strong memory, and handsome in his person. He lived to a great age, and died several years after the revolution." I find it stated by Mr. Wodrow, the celebrated historian, in the life of his father, who was professor of divinity at Glasgow, that "he was wont to play at chess with that strange, and," adds the historian, "I think, pious person, the dumb laird of Duntreath."

[28] MSS. Arch. Ecc. Scot. *ut supra.*

use all means in their power for obtaining them. But all came to nought. For those places and presbyteries would not want them; and the next assembly, seeing this country beginning to be so likely to be furnished, were not so forward to transport men, but promised the commissioners further supply and expectants. Besides this, the assembly did recommend the Directory for worship unto the practice of ministers in this country; which was accordingly, by act of presbytery, begun. Likewise the commissioners of England at that time sent to the presbytery some books, declaring the way of the parliament in approving the exercise of presbyterial government in England, and desiring the presbytery here may follow the same way. Unto this the presbytery returned answer, that they must have more copies, and have time to consider the same. This motion was not further followed by the said commissioners, and therefore did soon vanish. There were some restrictions by the parliament of England put upon ministers in the exercise of government, which did much entrench upon the freedom and fulness of that government committed to his servants, and which the ministers here could not swallow." (29)

These restrictions, which were unpalatable to the presbytery in Ulster, as well to their brethren in England and Scotland, consisted principally in the erection of lay courts of appeal from the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts;—which would have brought the latter into perpetual collision with the civil power, and involved them in irritating litigation in defence of their censures against opulent and obstinate delinquents. (30) In other respects, however, the parliament

29 Adair's MS.

30 The Scottish commissioners urged the following reasons against this obnoxious enactment shortly after it had passed the parliament:—"We agree to the rules and direction concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's supper in cases of ignorance and scandal: only we desire that the congregational elderships may have power to judge in cases of scandal not enumerated, with liberty to the person grieved to appeal, as in other reformed churches. This we conceive to be a power no more arbitrary in

had concurred, though after many vexatious delays, with the Westminster assembly in their measures for settling the government of the church. Prelacy was abolished; the directory substituted for the common-prayer book; the government of the church by congregational elderships, classes or presbyteries, provincial synods and national or general assemblies, was established by ordinance; the power of these courts to license, ordain, suspend, or depose ministers, and to pass ecclesiastical censures, was confirmed; elderships were chosen and presbyteries constituted according to law in London and the county palatine of Lancaster; and nothing but the confusions attendant on civil war prevented the same steps being taken in other parts of the kingdom. Still, in the whole of this work of reformation, the independent and erastian party contrived to introduce restrictive provisions which, in addition to the right of appeal to civil courts already mentioned, rendered the new establishment unsettled and unsatisfactory. Thus the general assembly was prohibited from

this church than in them who are limited by the rules expressed in Scripture, and do exercise this their power with such moderation, as is a comfort, help, and strengthening of civil authority. The appointing of provincial commissioners, such as are appointed in the ordinance, will minister occasion to such debates and disputes in this and other churches, as will be very unpleasant to parliaments and civil powers; will make a great disconformity betwixt this and other churches, and a present rent and division in this church; is such a mixture in church government as hath not been heard of in any church before this time; may prove a foundation of a new episcopacy, or of a high-commission; and the work may be better done by the assemblies of ministers and ruling-elders, who have this in their ecclesiastical charge, and will be no less tender of the honour of parliament by whose laws they live and are protected, and as able and willing to give just satisfaction to the people whose consciences and conversation are best known unto them, as any other persons whatsoever." In another part of the same paper they add:—"There be other matters contained in the ordinances, as, the manner of subordination of the assemblies of the church to the parliament, so much subject to mistake; the seeming exemption of some sorts of persons from the just censures of the church; the ministering the sacrament to some persons against the conscience of the ministry and eldership; concerning public repentance to be only before the elderships; and such like, which may be taken into consideration, and with small labour and alteration be determined to the great satisfaction of many."—Rushworth, vi. 254, 255.

meeting, except at the times and during the periods prescribed by parliament; the precincts of the court and the residences of peers were exempt from ecclesiastical cognizance, and their inmates consequently freed from ecclesiastical censures; it was provided that two ruling elders at least, but if requisite four, should sit in each court for one minister, and the sentences of the higher courts, to be valid in law, required the votes of elders to be double those of ministers; no person could be suspended from privileges except for certain offences so distinctly enumerated as to restrict the power of the church-court; and all the ordinances relative to ecclesiastical affairs were passed for a very limited period only, some for one year, others for three. On one other point, on the subject of religion, the parliament and the assembly were at variance. The latter were urgent that no public or recognised congregation should be permitted to meet in a parish, save the parochial one established by law; the former hesitated, and at length refused, to concur in any such coercive enactment. In this discrepancy originated the discussions respecting toleration, which were carried on so keenly and for a length of time by the presbyterians on the one hand, and the sectaries, as they were called, on the other. (31) As not unfrequently happens in such cases, both parties were, in the heat of controversy, hurried into extreme and indefensible opinions; and the

31 Intolerance was the vice of this age, from which no party were wholly free. The idea of several differing churches existing contemporaneously within the same parish, or the same kingdom, was so foreign to the prevalent modes of thinking in those days, and to the generally received views of the precedent afforded by the Jewish theocracy, that it appeared to carry its own refutation along with it, and to be as opposed to sound policy as to the word of God. The veil which had been originally fabricated by papal policy long withheld the eyes of protestants from discerning the truth of Scriptures on this subject, now almost universally recognised as so obvious and unquestionable. Necessity, perhaps, at first, and the vicissitudes of power—which, by successively throwing each party into the minority, compelled them, whether Romanists, episcopalians, presbyterians, or independents, to become the advocates of toleration—have contributed, fully as much as the justice and excellence of the cause itself, to render it at length triumphant.

presbyterians in particular, from their dread of anarchy and licentiousness, excited by the wild blasphemies so confidently vented in those days, advocated measures and employed arguments which have been long condemned and disclaimed by their successors; and, in some cases, by the controversialists themselves, when they reflected on the consequences of the doctrines which they had incautiously advanced. (32)

These discussions had not as yet extended to Ulster, where the presbytery were occupied, unmolested by sectaries, in the erection of elderships or sessions, the maintenance of discipline, and the trials and ordinations of ministers in the numerous congregations under their care. Four of the more important of these unsettled parishes were endeavouring, as already noticed, to obtain experienced ministers from Scotland. Encouraged by the favourable answer of the last general assembly, two congregations in Down, to wit, Killileagh, where lord Claneboy resided, and Newton-ards, not far from the residence of lord Montgomery, resolved to prosecute their calls before the Scottish presbyteries for the Rev. Hugh Henderson minister of Dalry in Ayrshire, and the Rev. John Livingston then minister at Stranraer. In conjunction with these congregations, two others in Antrim, Carrickfergus the residence and head quarters of Monro, and Island Magee the quarters of lord Lindsay's regiment, applied respectively for the Rev. George Hutchinson minister of Colmonel, and the Rev. Robert Hamilton minister at Ballantrae. Petitions were accordingly forwarded to Edinburgh and laid before the first meeting of the commission of the church in the month of August. Although the assembly had encouraged the hope that all these ministers might be transported, as the ecclesiastical phrase is, to Ulster, the commission could not

32 Hence originated the unguarded and somewhat ambiguous expressions, on the subject of the magistrate's power, which are to be found in the Westminster confession of faith compiled at this critical period, and which, though controlled in their interpretation by the other sound principles asserted therein, so as to preclude them from bearing a persecuting or erastian sense, are certainly not such as presbyterians would now employ.

be induced to concur. They agreed to send merely another temporary supply of ministers, in terms of the following minute. " The commissioners of the general assembly, considering the petitions from Ireland for certain brethren to repair there, for doing ministerial duties in a settled charge of the ministry in some congregations of that kingdom, and finding, in regard of the present condition of this kirk, that they cannot at this time advise any to embrace a settled, constant charge there: therefore, in respect of the present necessities of their brethren in that kingdom, do ordain Mr. John Livingston, Harry Coltwart, and George Hutchinson, to repair to the kingdom of Ireland for a visit of three months' time; and then for that space to perform all ministerial duties for the good of God's kirk there, and to do all and every thing committed and recommended to the brethren sent formerly to that kingdom, hereby authorizing them with the same power in all things during the time aforesaid." (33)

In the meantime, several of the congregations succeeded in inducing young men from Scotland to accept their calls; and in the preparatory trials of these expectants, as they were styled, and in ordaining them to their respective charges, the presbytery were engaged during the remainder of the year. The first accession which they made to their number proved the most valuable. On the seventh of May, the Rev. Patrick Adair was ordained minister of Cairncastle, a parish lying between Larne and Glenarm, where the family of the Shaws resided, who were ardently attached to presbyterianism, and were the means of effecting the settlement of this distinguished minister. (34) Mr. Adair was, for nearly fifty years, one of the most eminent ministers of the presbyterian church in Ireland, and " constantly employed by his brethren in all their affairs of moment and intricacy. He

[33] MSS. Arch. Ecc. Scot. *ut supra.*

[34] This family were early settled in Cairncastle, and continued to reside there in the castle of Ballygelly till about sixteen years ago; when Mr. Shaw, the heir and sole male representative, who had been a merchant in Belfast but unfortunate in business, sold the estate and left the country.

was a man of great natural parts and wisdom, eminent piety and exemplary holiness, great ministerial gravity and authority, endued with savory and most edifying gifts for his sacred function, wherein he was laborious, painful, and faithful; was a constant, curious, and accurate observer of all public occurrences; and, with all these rare qualities, had not only the blood and descent, but the spirit and just decorum of a gentleman." (35) His eminent services and sufferings on behalf of the church in Ireland, will be frequently noticed in subsequent parts of this work.

During the months of August and September, the Rev. Thomas Hall was ordained to the pastoral charge of Inver or Larne,—the Rev. Robert Cunningham to that of the adjoining district of Broadisland, between Larne and Carrickfergus;—and the Rev. Anthony Shaw to that of Belfast. The two former ministers continued in their respective charges for nearly half a century; (36) but the latter was

35 Presby. Loyalty, page 166. The Rev. William Adair, minister of Ayr, and already noticed as one of the administrators of the covenant in Ulster in 1644, was the brother of Sir Robert Adair of Kinhilt and Ballymena; so that if, as I have conjectured, the Rev. Patrick Adair was his son, he was very closely allied to the Ballymena family, and was therefore fitly described as possessing 'the blood and descent of a gentleman.'

36 Mr. Hall suffered his full share of the painful vicissitudes and privations to which his brethren were subject; he nevertheless continued in his charge at Larne, though his maintenance was scanty and ill-paid. I find it reported to the presbytery in 1674, that "the people of Inver were considerably in arrear with their minister, almost to the half of what was promised him, for these four years past." He was a most laborious and painstaking minister, and died at Larne in 1695. One of his last employments was, revising for the press an explanation, in question and answer, of the shorter catechism, to which he prefixed a brief address to the people of his charge, giving them the following interesting account of the origin of the work:—"You know that ever since my entry unto the work of the ministry amongst you, which was in the year 1646, save under persecution, when I was either obliged to leave the kingdom or lurk privately in the place through the difficulties of the times, catechising was one part of my work; first putting you to get by heart the assemblies shorter catechism, and then instructing you in the fundamental principles of our christian faith by

permitted to exercise his ministry for a short period only, being compelled by the royalist and prelatical party, on their

questions raised from the answers of the catechism; following the same method as is here set down both with you and with my own family. And when my children came to have families of their own, I was prevailed with by them to put it in writing for their after use and advantage. Then I came to be importuned by you and some of my brethren to allow it to be printed, which I could not think of till I had it revised by better hands than my own. Whereupon finding some further clearness, I allowed my son, now residing at Edinburgh, to put it to the press, being the easiest way to make it common; and though now by reason of my age it cannot be expected that I shall see the fruits of it, yet it is a satisfaction to me that I leave this mean of instruction for you." He did not, however, live to see his wish fulfilled; as the work was not printed till 1697, when it was published at Edinburgh under the directions of his son Gilbert Hall, "lieutenant of the town of Edinburgh's company of guards." This valuable little work, which will not suffer by comparison with any similar work that has appeared either before or since, was entitled, "A plain and easy explication of the assemblies shorter catechism, confirmed with plenty of scripture-proofs; very useful to all, especially to those of weaker capacity." Edin. 1697, 18mo, pp. 248. Prefixed to it is a recommendation by Dr. Gilbert Rule, principal of the college of Edinburgh, and three other ministers, who speak of Mr. Hall in these flattering terms: "Our worthy brother, the author of this little book, though he never loved to appear much in the world, yet was known to be a person of solid learning and judgment, and of singular piety; who, as he was indefatigably diligent in ministerial duties among the people of his charge, so he was notably instrumental with some others of his brethren, for promoving the interest of Christ and the gospel in that part of the Lord's vineyard where they resided or were called to labour." In exact accordance with this honourable testimony, is the inscription on his tombstone at Larne: "Here restes in the Lord the body of the reverend and great master Thomas Hall, who continued a very worthy and faithful pastor of this parish, and a considerable pillar and ornament of this church, for about fifty years: who, though he died anno domini 1695 and of his age 75, yet is most worthy to live in the memory of posterity, to whom he hath left a rare example of faithfulness, gravity, and wisdom, as a minister; of integrity and solid piety, as a christian; of constancy, as a sufferer in all vicissitudes of times for the truth and simplicity of the gospel of Christ; and after all, of crowning his great virtues with most admirable humility and modesty: and so lived an eminent blessing to the world, and departed therefrom much desired in it." Of Mr. Robert Cunningham few particulars are known. It does not even appear whether he is the person who was a preacher at St. Johnston in the Lagan, and was sent to London in 1645, but it is probable he was not. He

gaining temporary possession of Belfast, to relinquish his charge and retire to Scotland.

Not long after these ordinations were completed, another eminent minister was added to the presbytery by the settlement of the Rev. Anthony Kennedy, in Templepatrick near Antrim, under the auspices of the Upton family. The entry of his ordination is still extant in the congregational session book, which has been happily preserved. From this record it appears that he was ordained by the presbytery on the "penult," or thirtieth day of October; that four ministers were present, the Rev. Archibald Ferguson of Antrim, moderator, with the Rev. Messrs. Patrick Adair of Cairncastle, David Buttle of Ballymena, and Robert Cunningham of Broadisland; and that there were also present three expectants, then on second trials before the presbytery with a view to their immediate settlement in congregations, to wit, Mr. John Greg, Mr. James Ker, and Mr. Jeremiah O'Quin, who were soon after ordained respectively in Carrickfergus, Ballymoney, and Billey in the Route. Mr. Kennedy continued at Templepatrick, amid all the vicissitudes of those eventful times, during the long period of fifty-one years;—distinguished throughout life for sincere though unostentatious piety, indefatigable diligence, and the most blameless deportment. He was imprisoned by the independents when in power, and deposed by the prelatical party so soon as they were restored to their former supremacy. He nevertheless continued among his people, supported principally upon his own resources; but, becoming infirm, he applied to the presbytery, in the

died in this charge about the year 1697. Though he enjoyed the patronage of the Edmonstone family, yet he appears to have been ill-requited by the people of that parish for his 'work of the ministry.' Only eight years after his ordination, I find the presbytery complaining so much of the difficulty of securing his maintenance, that they were about to disannex him from that congregation. In July 1655, however, Colonel Wallace, already noticed, then resident at Red-hall, is stated to have "given so much satisfaction to Mr. Cunningham for his maintenance in Broadisland that the presbytery do not declare him transportable at this time." MS. Min. Pres.

month of February, 1688, to be permitted to demit a charge which he felt himself no longer able conscientiously to fulfil. To induce his brethren to accept his resignation, he assigned the following reasons, which evince at once the magnanimity and faithfulness of this excellent man :—"Whereas Mr. Anthony Kennedy hath supplicated this meeting that, in consideration of his age, and thereby of his infirmity and weakness of body, whereby he is disabled from any part of his ministerial work, except it be to preach now and then as he is helped, and that he cannot catechise, visit families or sick as were necessary; he now gives up the charge of his present flock, first to Christ, and then to his presbytery, for their future supply: not that he fears persecution, or danger, or maintenance (though he has spent a good part of his own patrimony in supplying that charge which, if now to the fore, might be comfortable to his posterity,) but, finding his own weakness disabling him from the needful work of such a charge, and the ingratitude of some who make no conscience to receive the gospel and subject themselves to it, he now willingly and sincerely demits his charge of the people of Templepatrick: and in the meantime till further or better supply be provided, he will allow a third part of his current stipend towards the support of an assistant to himself in the work of the ministry." This arrangement, however, was not carried into effect; and, after surviving the wars of the revolution, he died on the eleventh of December, 1697, and was buried at Templepatrick, where his tombstone still preserves the record of the fidelity and success with which he made "full proof of his ministry." (37)

37 The following is a copy of the inscription on Mr. Kennedy's tombstone. "Hic, Christo uniti, recumbunt beati cineres viri Dei venerandi D'ni Antonii Kennedi; qui ad Fanum Patricii, continuis decem lustris et tribus plus minus annis, orthodoxam Evangelii veritatem, cultus divini puritatem, ecclesiæ disciplinam et pacem, non minus fideliter quàm feliciter prædicavit, propugnavit, et coluit: Quem vis nec dolus sacrilegæ tubæ [turbæ] de tramite recto flectere, aut loco pellere, potuere: Quum tandem sincerè Christum prædicando et Christo vivendo, multas animas Domino

The next ministers who were ordained were the Rev. John Baird, who had been chaplain to the Marquis of Argyle's regiment when stationed in the Route, and who was now settled at Dervock in the county of Antrim; and the Rev. John Greg, who was ordained to the important charge of Carrickfergus, the parishioners there having at length abandoned the attempt to obtain the settlement of Mr. Hutchinson. The people of Killinchy and Killileagh, however, resolved to persevere still further in their efforts to procure the distinguished ministers for whom they had been applying in Scotland. In the month of December they made another attempt by sending over Mr. William Weir, to the second meeting of the commission of the church at Edinburgh, to prosecute their respective calls. But that court now altogether refused to loose Mr. Livingston from Stranraer, with a view to his settlement at Newton-ards; while they merely noticed the parishioners of Dalry to send in their objections to the petition from Killileagh, for the removal of their minister Mr. Henderson. At the same time the commission renewed their former order to the Rev. Messrs. Livingston, Colwart, and Hutchinson, forthwith "to repair to Ireland for visiting the distressed Christians there;" and they made an additional order for three other ministers, to wit, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Row, Alexander Livingston, and Harry Semple, to succeed the former three so soon as their period of service should be completed. (38)

lucraverat, suam, summo spirituum Patri, exultans reddidit 11mo Decembris, 1697, anno ætatis 83." Translation. "Here, united to Christ, lie the blessed remains of that venerable man of God, Master Anthony Kennedy, who for the uninterrupted period of about fifty-three years, with equal fidelity and success, preached the orthodox truth of the Gospel, maintained the purity of God's worship, and preserved the discipline and peace of the church: Whom neither the violence nor intrigues of an ungodly multitude could induce to deviate from his integrity or abandon his post: Till at length, having converted many souls to God, not less by his faithful preaching of Christ than by his own Christian life, he resigned his soul, with joyful hope, to the great Father of Spirits on the 11th of December, 1697, in the 83rd year of his age,"

[38] MSS. Arch. Ecc. Scot.

In all these numerous settlements, the only difficulties which the presbytery encountered were in the case of two of the young men who had been present at the ordination of Mr. Kennedy at Templepatrick. "The presbytery were somewhat troubled in settling Mr. James Ker at Ballymoney and Mr. Jeremiah O'Quin (a native Irishman bred by Mr. Upton to be a scholar) at Billey; in these two parishes of the Route where they were called by the plurality of the people, but opposed by some disaffected persons, particularly Mr. Stewart of Ballintoy,(39) who had some interest in Ballymoney; and by Mr. Donald M'Neill in Billey; who with their party did apply themselves to the commissioners from England yet in the country, and appealed to them from the presbytery. They had given in divers things in a libel against these two expectants anent the unsoundness of somewhat they had delivered in their doctrine. In answer to which, the presbytery in the first place appointed two of their number to go to the commissioners, and inform them of the groundlessness and error of this appeal from a spiritual judicatory to the civil magistrate; and that they presumed the commissioners will not own such proceedings. Unto this the commissioners assented, yet sent this libel to the presbytery to be examined. This the presbytery did with all diligence, recommending the examination of it to those of their number who were going to the Route to Mr. John Baird's ordination, where the other party might bring their witnesses. But upon fair trial they found nothing to obstruct the settling of these men, who were accordingly settled." (40)

Several ministers were, about the same time, ordained by the presbytery in the county of Down. The Rev. Thomas Peebles, chaplain to Lord Eglinton's regiment, was installed at Dundonald; and about the same time, the Rev. Gilbert Ramsay was ordained to the charge of Bangor, and the Rev.

[39] Of this Mr. Stewart see vol. i. page 314. As agent for the Marquis of Antrim, he would necessarily have considerable influence in Ballymoney.

[40] Adair's MS.

JAMES GORDON to that of Comber. (41) In the county of Donegal also, the presbyterians in several places had succeeded in obtaining settled pastors. The REV. HUGH CUNNINGHAM, chaplain to Lord Glencairn's regiment, was settled at Ray or Manor-Cunningham in the Lagan; and the REV. WILLIAM SEMPLE was soon afterwards ordained at Letterkenny; (42) and in a few favoured parishes in the counties of Derry and Tyrone, several ministers, whose names cannot now be recovered, were happily planted. At the beginning of the year 1647 there were, in addition to several chaplains of the Scottish regiments, and occasional supplies from Scotland, nearly THIRTY ordained ministers permanently settled in Ulster.

41 MR. PEEBLES died in the charge of Dundonald, then including Holywood, in the end of the year 1670. MR. RAMSAY was recommended to the people of Bangor by the Rev. Robert Blair, their former minister. His meeting-house was demolished in 1669, by the order of Lady Clanbrassil, widow of the second lord Claneboy, and first lord Clanbrassil; which indignity he did not long survive, as he died in the month of August in the following year. MR. GORDON, after having been deposed with the rest of his brethren in 1661, continued to officiate privately at Comber for many years; but about the year 1683, in his old age, he appears to have deserted his principles and conformed to prelacy.

42 MR. CUNNINGHAM was deposed in 1661 by Leslie, bishop of Raphoe; but I cannot ascertain what afterwards became of him. His successor, the Rev. Robert Campbell, was ordained to this parish in 1671. Prior to the ordination of the REV. WILLIAM SEMPLE, I find a Rev. Andrew Semple was minister at Letterkenny, who, in 1642, was served heir to his brother, Robert Semple of Nether-Walkingshaw near Glasgow, (See Inq. Gen. 2695.) whom he had not long survived. The Rev. William Semple continued in this parish till his death in the month of October, 1674.

CHAPTER XIII.

Ormond blockaded in Dublin—His correspondence with the Scots in Ulster—Commissioners from the parliament arrive in Dublin—They proceed to Ulster—Dublin is surrendered to them—Monck and Coote appointed by parliament to the chief command in Ulster — These appointments displeasing to the Scots—The presbytery seek the concurrence of Monck and Coote—Who countenance and encourage them—They petition for the release of lord Montgomery — Who is liberated—The Scots army in England deliver up the king and return to Scotland—Unconstitutional proceedings of the English army—The Scottish engagement—Opposed by the church—State of parties in Scotland—Commissioners sent to Ulster to bring over the Scottish army—Livingston despatched by the church to oppose their removal—Several regiments join the engagement—Presbytery publish a declaration against it— Send a commissioner to the General Assembly—Who appoint ministers to visit Ulster—Monck and Coote continue to favour the presbytery—Monck intriyues against general Monro—Seizes Carrickfergus and Belfast, and sends Monro prisoner to London—Presbytery censure Sir Robert Adair for aiding Monck—Coleraine taken —Coote surprises Culmore and other castles — Violent proceedings of the army in England—Parliament purged by Pride—The rump parliament try the king—Who is condemned and beheaded.

Immediately after the decisive victory at Benburb, O'Neill joined the nuncio at Kilkenny, and united with him in opposing the peace which Ormond had concluded with the supreme council of the confederate Romanists. The nuncio, at the head of the clergy, pronounced the highest ecclesiastical censures against those who had negotiated with Ormond, under the pretext that in their treaty the interests of the Romish church had not been properly secured. Supported by the troops of O'Neill, he committed to prison the members of the supreme council, and substituted other persons, chiefly bishops, in their room; he placed himself at

the head of the new council, and re-modelled the army at his pleasure; and thus did this insolent prelate, with a few servile ecclesiastics, usurp the supreme authority over the greater part of the kingdom, which he laboured to subject to the absolute control of the pope, in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. (1) One of his first acts in the new office which he had assumed as 'commander-in-chief of all Ireland under the sovereignty of the pope,' was to direct O'Neill to blockade Dublin, whither Ormond had retired. The latter had anticipated this movement; and aware of his inability, both from the smallness of the garrison and the want of provisions and military stores, to defend the city against the formidable army which O'Neill was leading against him, he sent commissioners to England to inform the parliament of the increased strength of the nuncio's party; and despatched colonel Arthur Chichester to Ulster to apprise the Scottish and British forces of his hazardous situation, and the preparations which this ultra-Romanist faction were making to besiege Dublin. On the ninth of October the Scottish officers, to the number of twelve, replied to him from Coleraine, and assured him they were willing to hold correspondence with him, that "we may hereafter," say they, "be known to have one cause and one enemy." At the same time they sent captain William Cunningham to Dublin to ascertain more particularly how "his service may be best advanced." On the twenty-fourth of the same month Ormond sent back their messenger with a letter, in which he gratefully acknowledged their communication, and promised to "give them frequent advertisement how the good of his service and their own interest may be most effectually promoted." Together with this letter he drew out certain 'Remembrances for captain William Cun-

[1] In giving to the pope an account of these transactions, the nuncio thus expressed himself: "The clergy are masters of the kingdom! The supreme council, deprived of all authority, is confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them! All the power and authority of the confederates is devolved on the clergy!" Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1346, quoted in O'Connor's Hist. Diss. part i. p. 205.

ningham,' in which he expressed his anxiety that the Scots should send him a re-inforcement of men, with a supply of military stores; and, as a special inducement, he engaged to admit them " to use their own form of service, and have their own ministers, and a church assigned to them, saving to the present incumbent his right." He added, that if they could not afford to send him the assistance which he required, " then that they should draw forth such a party as may somewhat divert the enemy, in doing of which they cannot fail of such a booty as will recompense the expedition."

In accordance with this suggestion, the English commissioners, Mr. Annesley and colonel Beale, who were still in Ulster on the twenty-seventh of October despatched a small squadron of about seven hundred dragoons, under the command of colonel Edward Conway, son of lord Conway, and Owen O'Conolly, now raised to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel. (2) This party after defeating O'Neill near Clones, ravaging the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, and burning Carrickmacross and several villages, returned, as Ormond had foretold, with a large supply of cattle to their quarters at Lisburn. (3) Four days after captain Cunningham had left

[2] In May 1645 he was serjeant-major to Sir John Clotworthy's regiment, as appears from the vote of the house of commons of that date, renewing his pension of £200 per annum. Jour. iv. 150. May 21.

[3] Cox. ii. 190. Further particulars of this marauding expedition may be seen in a small pamphlet entitled, " Exceeding good news from Ireland, being a perfect relation of the late great overthrow given to the rebels by the forces of Ulster under the command of colonel Connoway and lieutenant-colonel Oconally, with the manner of their routing and defeating them in the counties of Cavan, Monakon, Louth, and Westmeath, taking 1200 cows, 400 horse, 1000 sheep, with all their arms and ammunition," &c. Lond. Nov. 23, 1646, pp. 6. It is stated, that these forces were out only fourteen days, and that, in addition to the booty they had captured, they had burned corn to the amount of £50,000; but these interested accounts of their proceedings are greatly exaggerated, and cannot be depended on. It also appears from this pamphlet, that the commissioners from the parliament, after spending fourteen months in Ireland, returned in safety to London on the 23d of November.

Dublin, Sir Francis Willoughby arrived from England with assurances of immediate aid from the parliament by way of Chester; but Ormond, preferring a coalition with the Ulster Scots, with whose countrymen the king still sojourned at Newcastle, immediately sent another envoy to the north with more urgent letters, addressed to his 'Very loving friends colonel Robert Hume,colonel George Monro, colonel John Hamilton, lieutenant-colonel William Cunningham, and to other the officers commanding regiments in the Scottish army,' urgently soliciting a speedy supply of men; and promising, in a private letter to colonel Monro, 'that, though the men expected out of England should arrive, he would, through all hazards, oppose their entrance into the city, till he should know the success of this message.' The Scottish officers, however, were reluctant to place themselves and their troops under the command of one who had been so recently opposed to them, without more explicit stipulations than those contained in the hurried letters of Ormond. They accordingly wrote to him from Carrickfergus on the tenth of November, stating the several difficulties and scruples which prevented them from sending him immediate aid; but adding this assurance, 'that, those scruples being removed, they would be willing to stretch themselves in the performance of every thing [that] shall be in the power of his excellency's humble servants.' (4)

[4] These letters between Ormond and the Scottish officers, quoted in the text, I had copied from a manuscript in the British Museum (Donat. MSS. No. 4819, art. 19, fol. 427, *et seq.*), but I afterwards found they had been previously printed, though with several inaccuracies in the names of the officers, in Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 392, *et seq.* The first letter from the Scottish officers at Coleraine, the date of which is omitted in the printed volume, is signed by "Alex. Ker, Ro. Kenedie, S. Hamilton, Achinbreke (i. e. Campbell, of Auchinbreck, printed Cachmbrekey), G. Gordon, J. Hamilton, W. Cunningham, T. Dalyell, Ro. Nornbill, J. Montgomery, Geo. Monroe, Innerlivir." The second letter from Carrickfergus is signed by "George Monroe, G. Gordon, Geo. Barclay, T. Dalyell, Dan. Monroe, Sam. Hamilton, Jo. Hamilton, Wm. Cunningham, Jo. Maxwell, Robt. Kenedy, Da. Fergussone, M^cLellane (printed Mellettone)." Major-general Robert

Two days before this letter was received by Ormond, five commissioners from the parliament, one of whom was Sir John Clotworthy of Antrim, arrived in the bay of Dublin with the promised assistance of men and stores, and immediately commenced negotiations with Ormond for the delivery of the city. These negotiations, after being prolonged during twenty days, terminated unsuccessfully; the conditions proposed by the commissioners being ultimately refused by Ormond. (5) The former, therefore, in the latter end of November re-embarked the troops, who had been permitted to occupy temporary quarters in the suburbs, and proceeded to Ulster, "where they met with a very cold reception from the Scots. The commissioners themselves were with difficulty admitted into Belfast; but their forces were absolutely refused entrance either into that place or Carrickfergus; and the ships were forced to hover a week about the coast before the men could be landed." (6)

This reluctance on the part of the Scots to admit the parliamentary forces into their garrisons, arose not only from their jealousy of the late proceedings of the parliament, but from a desire to obtain a speedier liquidation of their accu-

Monro had, in the month of August 1645, (see Balf. An. iii. 301,) been recalled with a considerable part of the army to oppose the victorious progress of Montrose in Scotland, whence he did not return, except for a short time in the summer of 1646, till after these negociations. I find him at his head-quarters at Carrickfergus in August 1647. During his absence the command devolved on his son-in-law, colonel George Monro, whose principles inclined him to join with the royalists, and who afterwards became a decided enemy of the presbyterian party in Ireland.

[5] The several letters which passed between the parties on this occasion are printed in a pamphlet entitled, "A Collection of all the papers which passed upon the late treatie betweene his excellency James marques of Ormonde, lord lieutenant-generall of Ireland, on the one parte; and sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Robert King, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Robert Meredith, knights, and Richard Salwey, esquire, commissioners authorised by the two houses of parliament of England, on the other part." Dublin, 1646, 4to, pp. 52.

[6] Carte, i. 592. See also Baillie, ii. 244, who says, "the soldiers which went from this to receive Dublin are towards Derry."

mulated arrears of pay. The Scottish army in England were now engaged in negotiations with both houses for their arrears, prior to their evacuting the garrisons held by them in the north of England; and the sum of four hundred thousand pounds had been already voted by the commons for that purpose. This success encouraged the army in Ireland to make a similar application for their arrears. They had accordingly sent over to London as their commissioners, colonel Montgomery, major Gordon, and lieutenant-colonel Borthwick; and they very prudently refused to part with the possession of their garrisons, or admit other forces into them, until the result of their application to parliament should be ascertained. (7) This refusal, however, as well as the private correspondence with Ormond, was most displeasing to both houses in London; while the many enemies, by which the Scots and the presbyterian party were beset in the commons, took advantage of this circumstance to represent the Scottish army in Ireland as wholly inefficient, as disposed to join with the Irish and Ormond, and as undeserving of compensation for their services. In consequence of these injurious imputations, the officers of the army assembled at Carrickfergus on the twentieth of February 1647, drew up a DECLARATION detailing their proceedings in Ireland, and the unexampled discouragements under which they had been labouring since they left their native kingdom; and vindicating themselves from the charge of inefficiency or indifference towards the interests of the parliament. (8)

[7] This appears from the army's letter to their commissioners at London, dated from Carrickfergus, Dec. 24, 1646, from which the following is an extract: "Since your departure, there are some English forces landed who desyred Belfast, and have sent unto Scotland for ane order to that purpose. Wherefore the officers of the army did meete, and resolved to keepe Belfast as long as any other guarrison; quhilk we believe will be ane motive to caus the parliament pay us for bygones, or intertaine us otherwayes as formerlie." MS. Trans. of Scot. army. Bib. Jur. Edin.

[8] As this 'Declaration of the Scottish Army in Ireland' is an important historical document, and has never been published, I have given a copy of it in the Appendix, No. IX. taken from the "Transactions of the Scottish Army," in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

In the meantime, they were freed from the unwelcome presence of the parliamentary troops, who had been principally quartered in Lecale in the county of Down. (9) Ormond, unable to effect any satisfactory arrangement with the nuncio's party, with whom he had been negotiating after he had rejected the proposals of the parliament, and finding it impracticable to maintain any longer his position in Dublin, came at length to the determination of surrendering the city to the latter, on the conditions which had been formerly offered. Accordingly, in the beginning of February, he despatched lieutenant Lee to intimate his resolution to the commissioners in Ulster, who immediately resumed the negotiations; but, fearing this treaty might prove as ineffectual as the former one, they required him to send four hostages to England, as a security for the strict fulfilment of its conditions. With this preliminary stipulation Ormond complied, and sent over to Chester his second son, with three other persons of rank, one of whom was his steady friend, colonel Arthur Chichester of Belfast. So soon as these hostages arrived in England, the parliamentary forces in Ulster marched to Dublin, into which they were admitted in the month of March; and were soon after followed by additional troops from the sister kingdom. New commissioners, including two only of those previously employed, were appointed by parliament for concluding the treaty with Ormond. (10) They reached Dublin on the seventh of June,

9 These forces appear to have been scantily provided for during their stay here; for on the 22d of February, a petition from their principal officers, colonels John Moore and Roger Fenwick, with major Robert Astley, "on behalf of themselves, the officers and greatly-distressed soldiers now residing in the isle of Lecaile in the province of Ulster," praying for relief, was presented to the commons. Journals, v. 95.

10 The commissioners who first negotiated with Ormond were Sir Robert King, Sir Robert Meredith, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Richard Salway, Esq. The last commission included only the two former; and in room of Clotworthy, Wharton, and Salway, were appointed Mr. Arthur Annesley, formerly a commissioner to Ulster, colonel Moore, and colonel Jones. Sir John Clotworthy was first appointed on the 1st of October 1646; and discharged from the commission on the 28th of January following. Com. Journ. iv. 679, 689, and v. 67.

and twelve days afterwards the treaty was formally signed and ratified; but possession of the castle was not surrendered until the twenty-eighth of July, when Ormond delivered up the regalia and retired to England. (11)

One of the first acts of these commissioners, who as a body were decidedly attached to the independent party and hostile to the Scots, was to prohibit the use of the book of common-prayer, and to require the directory for worship to be followed by all the ministers of the city. The episcopal clergy who had resorted in considerable numbers to Dublin, while occupied by Ormond, protested against this order, and presented a respectful remonstrance to the commissioners, but without success. The directory was adopted in all the churches of the city; but in the chapel of Trinity College, which was then in the suburbs, the book of common-prayer continued to be used for some time longer. (12)

The parliament, immediately after the occupation of the metropolis by their troops, took measures for effecting the removal of the Scottish forces out of Ulster. In the month of March the commons had passed an ordinance for that purpose; (13) and on the eleventh of May, they appointed a committee to draw up reasons to secure the concurrence of the lords, (14) who, it appears, were unwilling to entertain the

[11] During Ormond's occupation of Dublin the Irish were preparing, in the latter end of April, to attack the city; but the Ulster forces, at his request, marched towards Leinster, "with ten dayes meale on their backs," and fell upon the Irish, who were mustering their forces at Carrickmacrosse, and put them to flight. See a tract dated from Belfast, May 10th 1647, entitled, "Exceeding good news from Ireland; being a perfect relation of the relieving of the city of Dublin by the regiments belonging to Sir John Clotworthy, colonel Hill, and colonel Conway, who fell upon the rebels at Carrickmacrosse in Leinster, putting them all to flight," &c. Lond. 4to. 1647, pp. 8.

[12] Carte, i. 605. The petition of "the protestant clergy of the city of Dublin," presented on this occasion to the commissioners, may be found in Borlase, app. p. 94; and has been since frequently reprinted.

[13] Commons' Journals, v. 113. 16th March.

[14] Ibid. v. 167. These reasons are inserted at length in page 172.

question of the removal of these troops, until, like their fellow-soldiers in England, they should have received compensation for their arrears. In the following month, accordingly, the amount of pay, due to those regiments who had served in Ulster since the year 1642, was settled by commissioners from the parliament, together with the officers who had been sent over by the army. These arrears were found to amount to upwards of seven hundred thousand pounds; (15) but, though promises of payment were liberally given, not a farthing of this large sum, acknowledged to be justly due, was everpaid. (16) The lords having at length concurred in the ordinance for their removal, both houses on the seventh of September drew up a letter "to be sent to the estates of Scotland for the recalling of the Scottish forces out of Ulster in Ireland, according to the first agreement and treaty for Ireland; there being no further need to continue those forces in that kingdom, the houses resolving to prosecute that war in Ireland with the forces of this kingdom only." (17)

These forces the parliament had already transferred to new commanders. On the sixteenth of July they appointed to the command of the British regiments in Ulster, formerly under

[15] Burnet's Mem. of Ham. p. 349. I cannot find any other statement of these arrears either in the Journals, or in Rushworth.

[16] The arrears of pay, due to the *British* regiments in Ulster from 1642 to the 5th of June 1649, were paid them in lands secured under the act of settlement in 1665.

[17] Rushworth, vii. 803. Journals, v. 294. The Scottish estates, by their letter from Edinburgh of the 27th of the same month, read in the lords on the 7th of October, and in the commons on the following day, agreed to the recal of their forces provided their arrears be previously discharged, and a fortnight's pay, agreeably to the treaty, given to each soldier at his dismission, to carry him home. Parl. Hist. xvi. 312-314; see also Ibid. 488. Shortly after, both houses sent commissioners to Scotland, one of whose "Instructions" was, to offer to the Scots, "that, if they desire it, commissioners shall be sent into Ulster to state the accompts of the said army; or, if they shall rather desire to agree by way of a general estimate for the whole, that they will then speedily represent that estimate to the two houses of parliament." Com. Journ. v. 447, 28 January 1648.

Monro, the celebrated colonel George Monck. (18) This adventurer, whose name has justly become a bye-word for perfidy and dissimulation, had, at the commencement of the civil war, served in Ireland under the orders of the parliament. Returning thence, he became a warm partizan of Charles; but having been taken prisoner at Nantwich in February 1644, by the forces of the parliament under Fairfax, he was confined for a considerable time in the Tower. To escape from his imprisonment, he took the solemn league and covenant; and on the twelfth of November 1646, was taken into the service of the parliament. By them he was sent into Ireland with the forces designed for the occupation of Dublin; (19) and having given proof of his fidelity to his new masters, as well as of his courage and address, he was raised to the command of the British in Ulster, with the exception of the regiments at Derry and in the Lagan, which were at the same time placed under Sir Charles Coote. Monck fixed his head-quarters at Lisburn; and not long after, power was given him by an ordinance of parliament to execute martial law within his quarters. (20) This appointment was obnoxious to the Scots, who viewed with increasing alarm the irregular and unconstitutional proceedings of the English army under Fairfax, in forcibly seizing the king, and carrying him off from Holdenby-house, where he had resided since the departure of the Scots;—in marching to London and intimidating both houses of parliament;—in impeaching Sir John Clotworthy, and the other leaders of the presbyterian party in the commons, with a view to their expulsion from the house, and placing the authority of the state in the hands of the independents. So unpopular indeed had the cause of the parliament become at this period in Ireland, that negotiations were privately carried on by the army in Munster under lord Inchiquin, and that at Dublin under colonel

18 Com. Journ. v. 246.

19 Ibid. 720. Burton's Ireland, 4to, 1811, page 45.

20 Ibid. 347, 1 Nov. 1647.

Jones, with the British and Scots in Ulster, to declare for "the king, parliament, and covenant," in opposition to the army of sectaries, who were usurping the supreme power of the state. (21) These designs were defeated by the prudence and vigilance of Cromwell and the other leaders of the ascendant party; but no cordiality existed between the British regiments in Ulster and their new commanders. When Coote took the field in the latter end of November, and marched against the rebels on the confines of Connaught, it was with difficulty he could muster his forces in sufficient number to join with his own and lord Folliot's troops, lately arrived from England. The regiments under the command of Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, composing the principal part of the Lagan forces who were decided presbyterians and opposed to the sectaries, absolutely refused to march: "and therein," says a correspondent, writing to the commons, "have disobeyed the orders and directions of parliament, which, considered with what else is on foot in Ulster,

[21] Com. Jour. v. 307, 18 Sept; see also Parl. Hist. xvi. pp. 301-8, where the reader may see the letters which passed on this occasion between major-general Stirling at Cork, in the month of August, and the estates of Scotland and major-general Monro, with the proceedings of the commons thereon. The presbytery, ever vigilant for the interests of the church, were jealous of this correspondence between the Scottish army and the parliamentary generals in the south, lest it might lead to the establishment of independency. This jealousy induced Monro to write the following circular letter,—"To the ministers of the severall paroches within the Scottish armies quarters:

"Reverend Sir,—I, with the officers entrusted from the severall regiments, having taken to our consideration the mistakes that has beene and may be conceaved of our proceidings, by the ministers and the people of this country, thought it expedient to desyre you to be confident that all our resolutions shall be such as shall no way tend to the prejudice of religion, covenant, or what else as good Christians we are tyed to; and therefore wishes you would be pleased publictlie to assuir all these of your people who have intertained jealousies or feares of this nature, that the armies good intentions may no farther be mistaken after this sort; and soe recommending you to God, I rest your affectionat freind,

"Carrickfergus, 11 August 1647. Robert Monro."

may give to think that other ale is there brewing than English." (22)

Monck was more successful than Coote in his management of the presbyterian party in Down and Antrim. He was indeed peculiarly well fitted, by his consummate address and duplicity, to watch over and advance the interests of the parliament at this critical juncture. His first care was to conciliate the presbytery, and to endeavour to assure them, in the face of glaring evidence to the contrary, of the unabated attachment of both houses to the presbyterian government, and of their constant adherence to the covenant.

During the whole of this year no event of any interest had occurred in the history of the church in Ulster. The presbytery steadily pursued the same unwearied course of pastoral labours in their own congregations, of visiting vacant parishes and encouraging them to call suitable ministers, and maintaining the same faithful discipline over both themselves and their people, by which they had been already distinguished. "The work of God did, this year 1647, get good footing in the country, and was not retarded by the late stroke on the Irish and British forces at Benburb. But thereby God's hand of mercy was seen in preserving his poor people and promoting his begun work; as well as his justice in punishing profane men and a secure country by barbarous enemies. Ministers continued to be planted; and when these could not be had at first in congregations, sessions were erected by the presbytery's concurrence, ministers and expectants being usually sent to congregations destitute of ministers, to stir up and prepare congregations for planting ministers among them: whereby the young ministers were sent to other places frequently, beside the constant charge of their own congregations. Where ministers were, communions continued to be observed, where the Lord was pleased to give his presence and help to young beginners. However the presbytery, according to the laudable custom of other presbyteries, did make an act that,

[22] Rushworth, vii. 947.

once or twice a year, the members of the presbytery undergo an admonition or censure of their brethren, if need require it, as to any part of their carriage, whether in the presbytery or otherwise, or in the discharge of their ministry, known to any of their brethren. And for that end, one or two at once were removed till the rest considered what grounds there were to admonish, censure, or encourage them; and thus by degrees to be removed, and their carriage considered by the rest, till the whole members, especially the ministers, receive the mind of the rest. This was thought a fit means for keeping the brethren more watchful in their conversing, both with their brethren and their congregations and otherwise; as well as to keep up the authority of presbytery over particular brethren." (23)

No sooner had Monck and Coote been settled in command of the British at Lisburn and Derry, than the presbytery sought their concurrence to assist in providing the parishes within their respective quarters with a sound and efficient ministry. "At this time colonel Monck, commander-in-chief of the British forces in Ulster, kept a fair correspondence with the presbytery, assenting to what desires they proposed to him for keeping discipline in force over scandalous ministers and persons within his quarters. An instance of this appears in his first letter directed to one of their members, who, by the presbytery's appointment, had written to him to that effect, which letter is as follows: 'Sir,

23 These 'privy censures,' as they were called, from an early period formed a part of the discipline of the presbyterian church in Scotland, France, and, I believe, Holland, and continued to be long practised by the presbyteries in Ireland. They were laid aside at the general relaxation of discipline in the last century, but they ought to be revived. The form of procedure therein is thus set down in Stewart of Purdovan's Collections: "In every presbytery, at least twice a year, on days for prayer, as should be done in sessions likeways, there ought to be privy censures, whereby each minister is removed by course, and then enquiry is made at the pastors and elders, if there be any known scandal, fault, or negligence in him, that it may be in a brotherly manner censured; after the ministers, the presbytery clerk is to pass these censures likeways."

Upon the receipt of your letter, I have inquired of the minister here, (24) whether any of these abuses were committed; and he certifieth to me, that there hath not been any done these two years. I have laid an injunction upon him not to permit any such scandalous actions for the future; and if any other minister within my quarters shall either marry any scandalous persons, or christen children that are unlawfully begotten, I will render him up to the justice of the presbytery to receive censure for his disobedience. This I desire you to acquaint the presbytery with, there being nothing within my power which may be a means to suppress these scandals but shall be readily performed. Your friend to serve you, George Monck. Lisnegarvey, December 17th, 1647. For his respected friend, Mr. Archibald Ferguson, minister at Antrim.' Upon this letter the presbytery appointed some of their number to go to colonel Monck, and give him thanks for his professed zeal, who had the same promises renewed to them. It is to be remembered that general-major Monro, with the Scotch army, had then a great command and interest in the country; and the said general Monro had evidenced much friendship to the presbytery for a long time; and it was believed that colonel Monck, though otherwise principled and inclined, did profess favour to the presbytery and their proceedings from politic grounds, as appeared thereafter.

"The like course was also followed by Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, and commander of the British forces about Derry, who at this time wrote to the presbytery, desiring they would send commissioners of their number to these quarters, to take courses with scandalous ministers, and other persons under scandals, unto whom he would give assistance. Though the presbytery were not ignorant

24 This person was the Rev. Mr. Warr, a minister from England, who had accompanied the parliamentary commissioners in 1645 as chaplain, and who settled at their head quarters at Lisburn. Carte, i. 538. He appears to have belonged to the independent party, and not to have joined the presbytery in their government or discipline.

of the ends and pretences of this politician, yet they made use of the opportunity Providence brought in their way; and did send some of their brethren, ministers, and ruling elders, persons of knowledge and quality, to these parts, giving them commission to correct abuses there by censuring scandalous and intruding ministers, and to make way for the planting the gospel in these parts. Accordingly these ministers and elders did, in an orderly way, call before them divers who had been received as ministers in these parts before, and, there being divers scandals proved before and upon them, they were deposed. These were Mr. Robert Barclay for trading in a way inconsistent with the ministry, for cursing and swearing, profaning the Sabbath, intruding on a neighbouring parish, and for frequent drunkenness; Mr. Brown for drunkenness, swearing, and railing against authority; Mr. James Baxter for drunkenness, swearing, baptizing and marrying promiscuously, and for railing against the professors of godliness; Mr. Robert Young for known debauchery; Mr. Archibald Glasgow for drunkenness, swearing, and railing against religion; Mr. George Hamilton for tippling, and sometimes inveighing against professors of godliness; and Mr. Major for profaning the Sabbath, and promiscuous baptizing, &c. &c. In all which the president did concur with the presbytery's commission, and a letter of thanks was returned to him for his zeal." (25)

While these commanders were ingratiating themselves with the presbytery, they did not neglect their military operations against the remnants of the Irish army still hovering upon the confines of Ulster. In February 1648, Monck despatched colonel Conway, with a party of horse, towards Cavan, who dispersed O'Neill's forces quartered in that country, and took a considerable booty in horse and sheep.(26) It was at this conjuncture that O'Neill, fearing he might not be able to hold much longer the castle of Cloughouter in Cavan, in which lord Montgomery of the Ards had been

25 Adair's MS.

26 Rushworth, vii. 988.

confined since the battle of Benburb, consented to effect an exchange of prisoners. During his lordship's tedious captivity, several efforts had been made to effect his release. In the beginning of the preceding year, the presbytery wrote from Carrickfergus to the commission of the church of Scotland, met at Edinburgh in the month of February 1647, to urge the Scottish parliament, then sitting, to interfere on his behalf. The commission, approving of this object, drew up a petition in his favour, and appointed five of their members, to wit, the Rev. Messrs. Andrew Cant, John Nevey, and James Nasmyth, ministers, with the lord Craighall, and the laird of Duddingston, elders, to present it to the parliament. This petition, containing an honourable testimony to the principles and character of the captive nobleman, and evincing, as it does, the sympathy of the presbyterian church both in Scotland and Ireland in his distress, and their zealous interference in his favour, is worthy of being inserted at length. (27)

"To the honourable estates of parliament, the humble petition of the commissioners of the general assembly, humbly sheweth. That it is not unknown to your honours how the lord viscount Montgomerie of Ards, within the kingdom of Ireland, hath, now of a long time, been captive and in bitter bondage with the barbarous and bloody Irishes. We shall not need to put your honours in remembrance that he is your flesh and blood; nor yet how he is of the same body, and in the same bond of the covenant; only your honours may call to mind, when commissioners were sent from hence to tender the solemn league and covenant to your army, how cheerfully he did offer himself, and join in the

7 In inserting this petition in the text, I am also anxious that the reader should, by means of it and the letter given in vol. i. page 393, note 16, be clearly informed of the avowed principles of this nobleman, of the intimate relation which subsisted between him and the presbyterian church, and of his obligations to its ministers; in order that the subsequent narrative of his bitter opposition to the presbytery and their proceedings against him may be properly understood. It has never been printed before.

same, despising all terrors and hazards; and how faithfully and zealously he hath laboured to promote the same, not loving even his life unto death, as most amply and solemnly testified unto us in the late general assembly, and now again by a letter from the presbytery of our army within that kingdom; as also how in the day of our distress he offered himself willingly unto our help, and still hath been very helpful and refreshful to our forces there, to the great damage of his estate.

"May it then please your honours in this day of his distress to be comfortable to him; and to apply and bestir yourselves in the use of the best means for his relief and subsistence. So shall you encourage others to be forward for God and zealous of the country's good, when the coal that is left shall not be quenched, according to your power and interest; and contribute much to the promoving of the work of reformation there, which is like to be crushed in the birth through want of encouragement." (28)

In pursuance of this application, the Scottish parliament, before they closed their sittings, wrote to both houses in London, "in behalf of viscount Montgomery, lord Ards, colonel of the old Irish establishment, who was taken prisoner last year by the rebels, desiring that his arrears may be paid to him to procure his redemption." Accordingly, on the seventh of April, "the commons voted to refer it to the committee for Ireland to consider if they can find out any way for exchange, and the lords' concurrence was desired herein." (29) These efforts, however, produced no effect during that year; until at length the Irish general, finding his cause declining in Ulster, agreed to exchange lord Montgomery and his fellow prisoner, Sir Theophilus Jones, for two of the Romanist party in the custody of colonel Jones at Dublin,—the earl of Westmeath and colonel Byrne. (30)

28 MSS. Arch. Ecc. Scot. 29 Rushworth, vi. 450.

30 On the 30th of December 1647, both houses of parliament agreed to write to colonel Jones to exchange colonel Birne and the earl of West-

This exchange was effected in the latter end of February, after a tedious captivity of twenty months. His lordship, as the compiler of the Montgomery manuscripts writes, "had a safe conduct, and was received in our frontiers by many British officers and some troops, and convoyed through the county of Armagh to Lisnegarvagh, i. e. the gamester's fort, where his uncle [sir James Montgomery] with a great train of gentlemen met his lordship, and attended him through Belfast to Carrickfergus, where he made his first visit to the major-general [Monro] and to his lady mother," (31) the lady Jean Alexander, who had married the general after the death of her first husband, the second lord Montgomery.

Immediately after his liberation he resumed his former command in the army, and, with the rest of the British officers, co-operated willingly with Monck. In the month of March a council of war, which continued for several days, was held at Lisburn, to make arrangements for the campaign of the approaching summer. Colonel Monck was its president, and it was attended by the following officers; the right honourable the lord of Ards, colonel Sir James Montgomery, lieutenant-colonel Owen O'Connolly, colonel Edward Conway, lieutenant-colonel Keith, lieutenant-colonel Frayle, lieutenant-colonel Conway, major George Rawdon, major James Clotworthy, captain George Montgomery, captain Edward Brough [Bruff], captain Clements, captain Joseph Hamilton, captain Hans Hamilton, and captain Augustin or Austin. But, though Monck contrived to retain the confidence of these British officers, continual jealousy, which he was at little pains to disguise, existed between him and the Scottish army under Monro. He demanded of the latter the pieces of ordnance which were in Belfast, when they took possession of the town four years before; and used

meath for the lord of Ards and colonel Theophilus Jones. The compiler of the Montgomery MSS. calls the first mentioned prisoner, "lieutenant-general (I think his sirname was) O'Reilly." Com. Journ. v. 411.

[31] Mont. MSS. p. 199.

all his efforts to prejudice the country against them, by circulating reports of their maintaining secret correspondence with the Irish rebels. The Scottish officers, justly indignant at these attempts to ruin their reputation, wrote to him from Carrickfergus on the first of April, in these strong and decided terms: "Noble Sir, We have understood by several officers in this army, that you said, at a meeting with some of our members, there was a correspondence kept up betwixt this army and the Irish, or betwixt some of them and the Irish. Our ingenuity to this cause hath occasioned us to suffer much since we came hither, with untainted reputations, so as we think any man or men of that disposition is not fit to be kept in our army; therefore we desire you will be pleased to let us know upon what grounds you spoke of it, and persuade yourself that, as we will suffer none to be of our number who will meddle in such business, which we totally disallow, so we will not take it well there be a calumny laid upon us all without any reason; and, in hopes that you will give us satisfaction hereof, we remain your humble servants." To this firm, but respectful, communication they subjoined the following postscript: "In answer to your desires towards the pieces in Belfast, the resolution of the army is, that they be kept for the service in lieu of two great pieces that were splented before Charlemont, which came from the kingdom of Scotland, for which we are countable." (32)

What satisfaction they received from their wary calumniator cannot now be ascertained. In the latter end of the same month he was obliged to take the field. O'Neill, being probably apprized of this misunderstanding between the British and Scots, resolved to take advantage of their dissensions, and with his troops from Charlemont to make an attack upon the former posted at Lisburn. "But colonel Monck," writes a partizan of the parliament, "whose valour and fidelity was ever eminent, having knowledge of their coming, marched with such a party as he could make;

[32] MS. Trans. of the Scot. army, p. 153.

and, having laid three hundred horse in ambush, fell with the rest upon their quarters, which gave them a hot alarm, many being suddenly slain. They drawing together to oppose the first, were charged by the three hundred, totally routed, between five hundred and a thousand slain, all their arms and baggage taken, the residue flying several ways. (33)"

Monck's attention was soon after directed to other matters by the unhappy dissensions which had, in the meantime, occurred between the Scottish and English parliaments, and which were felt even in Ulster.

In the beginning of the previous year, the Scottish army, having received compensation from parliament for their services in England, evacuated their garrisons and returned to their native kingdom. Their last act was, on the thirtieth of January, 1647, to place the king, who had resided in their quarters from the preceding May and had refused to concur in their proposals for peace, in the hands of commissioners from both houses of parliament. This memorable proceeding, which from the king's obstinacy was wholly unavoidable on their part, and which was never designed nor expected to be so prejudicial to his cause as it subsequently proved, has been long perverted into a proverbial reproach against both the Scottish nation and the whole presbyterian body, as if it had been a base desertion of their sovereign, and a disgraceful bartering of his person for gold. "The fact is this, their situation was so peculiar that they could neither retain nor relinquish the possession of his person without incurring the imputation of treachery to the parliament, or of disloyalty to the king. To the parliament, at least, they were steadfast in their engagements; and their repeated offers, renewed even at the period of their departure, to undertake his defence on the only terms consistent with their original compact, their religious principles, or their political

[33] Rushworth, vii. 1109. The same correspondent adds, "Corn is in all the rebels' quarters at eight pound a quarter, or at twenty shillings an English bushel; the people die within, and the cattle without, and many thousands of both are like to perish."

interests, should absolve them from the charge of having sold their king, or retained his person as a pledge to extort their arrears." (34)

The war being now terminated and the Scots withdrawn, the first care of the parliament was to disband their army under Fairfax and Cromwell, and employ a portion of it in prosecuting the war in Ireland. The army, however, flushed with the success which had crowned their arms, instead of complying with the orders of both houses to that effect, commenced, by means of menacing petitions and other tumultuous proceedings, to intimidate the parliament; and, backed

[34] Laing, iii. 350. As I have aimed at occupying as small a portion of the text as possible with discussions not immediately connected with the principal object of the work, and as many of my readers, who have not access to historical publications, may wish to see this matter more fully explained, I subjoin the following observations from the latest work which embraces this period of our national history. "It unavoidably happened that the treaty for the four hundred thousand pounds to discharge the demands of the Scots and the arrears due to the Scots' army, and the negotiation for delivering up the king's person, went on at the same time, and by corresponding steps; and this, in the ordinary language of history, has been called bartering the king's person for gold.—Both measures were just. The Scots' army had earned their wages, and could not be disbanded without this supply; and no person who understood the true interests and welfare of Scotland can fail to believe that it would have been madness on the part of the northern nation to have carried the king back with them into their own country, unless he first took the covenant. By such a step they would have alienated the English presbyterians as well as the independents, and have gratified none but the royalists; by such a step they would have become exposed to all the craft and the intrigues of the king and of the Scottish episcopalians. Charles had proved, in the most demonstrative manner, by his unalterable resistance to every concession required of him by the people of his native land, that his principles and purposes remained the same as they had been at the commencement of the war. The disastrous events of that war had produced no change in his professions and temper; and towards Scotland at least he had yielded not a single point. What then can be more contrary to the dictates of reason and wisdom than to have required of the Scottish parliament or the Scottish army to have removed him into their borders, and to have bid defiance to the whole power of England in defence of him who was little else than their professed enemy?" Godwin, ii. 255, *et seq.*

by the independent party in the commons, became in effect masters of the kingdom. They then seized the person of the king in the month of June; and, to overawe the parliament more effectually, they marched towards the metropolis. The presbyterians being still a formidable minority, and resolutely opposed to the usurpations of the army, the latter by a bold manœuvre,—the impeachment of eleven of the most distinguished presbyterian members of the commons, among whom Sir John Clotworthy was one,—succeeded in removing these able statesmen from the house, and, by thus depriving the presbyterian party of their leaders, easily secured a triumphant ascendancy. Meanwhile, complicated negotiations were carried on by Charles, first at his palace of Hampton Court, and afterwards at Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight, with the three great parties in the state,—the army, the parliament, and the Scots. With the latter he was most inclined to coalesce, and on the twenty-sixth of December he concluded a clandestine treaty with the Scottish commissioners, by which, notwithstanding all his former pleas of conscience, and his repeated protestations and oaths never to consent to even a temporary abolition of prelacy, he bound himself to establish the presbyterian church-government and worship for three years. To this stipulation, however, was annexed the insidious condition, that, by establishing the presbyterian government, he "was neither obliged to desire the settling that government, nor to present any bills to that effect." The commissioners from Scotland, on the other hand, engaged to support Charles against the army and the dominant party in the commons; and, if necessary, to send an adequate force to compel these disloyal opponents to conclude an honourable peace.

This treaty, more generally known by the name of the ENGAGEMENT, was hastily concluded by the Scottish commissioners without due authority from their estates; and was attended with the most disastrous consequences, both to Charles himself and to the kingdom of Scotland. So soon as it was discovered, he was more rigorously confined;

the parliament voted they would receive no further addresses from him; 'and from that moment he was justly considered as dethroned.' When disclosed to the Scottish parliament assembled at Edinburgh in the month of March 1648, it was not only opposed by a formidable minority, headed by the marquis of Argyle, but was unanimously denounced by the ministers throughout the kingdom, as a base desertion of the covenant, and an unholy alliance with its most bitter opponents. The commission of the church unanimously declared that the concessions of the king were unsatisfactory; that no adequate security had been given for the establishment and maintenance of the presbyterian government; that the treaty was only calculated to restore to power the prelatical faction, whose first effort would be to overthrow the reformation already accomplished; and that it was dangerous, both to the church and the state of Scotland, to unite in such an enterprise with those who had been uniformly hostile to the religious rights and liberties of the nation. The state of parties in Scotland at this period is thus briefly and accurately described by Adair. "The generality of the parliament, being sensible of the king's present case, resolved to enter a new war, and rescue the king's person from that captivity to their utmost hazard; which the other party would willingly have complied with, and run the same hazard for the king's majesty, if they had found religion secure upon the king's restoration. That was not found to be sufficiently provided for; but they did foresee, that, if the king should be restored in honour, freedom, and safety (which was the resolution then owned) without security first had for religion, all things would be reduced to their former channel, religion overturned, the ends of the covenant frustrated, and the godly in the land exposed to greater hazard and persecution than ever before. Wherefore that party in the parliament did protest against the proceedings of the rest, and withdrew. Likewise the commissioners of the church, having had many debates with commissioners from the parliament, did declare against that ENGAGEMENT

against England as unlawful, undertaken without consent of the covenanting party in England, or without any breach made by them against Scotland; and withal no security for reformation being provided for, but the king left to his liberty as to this matter, after his supposed restoration." (35)

In consequence of the uncompromising hostility of the church, the majority of the Scottish parliament, led by the duke of Hamilton, experienced great difficulty in collecting an adequate army, which it was soon found must be sent into England to effect the proposed liberation of the king. The sober and religious part of the people, and many of the most experienced officers who had fought in England, refused to serve. In this emergency, commissioners were despatched to the Scottish forces in Ulster, to induce them to return and declare for the engagement; these were the lord Cochrane, Sir James Macdougal of Garthland, and Mr. Alexander Crawford, burgess of Linlithgow. Their 'Instructions' were drawn up by the parliament on the tenth of May; and letters were sent not only to general Monro and his officers, but also to Hamilton earl of Clanbrassil, lord Montgomery of the Ards, Sir James Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, and the other commanders of the British forces, inviting them to join in the proposed invasion of England, which was set forth as necessary to preserve "his majesty's royal person and authority, and monarchical government in him and his posterity. (36)" At the same time, the parliament sent to the presbytery at Carrickfergus a letter, similar to one which they had already addressed to the several presbyteries in Scotland, vindicating the course which they had taken on behalf of the king; claiming to themselves the exclusive right of determining the limits of the royal prerogative and the subjects' obedience, as matters in which the church had

[35] Adair's MS.

[36] Burnet's Memoirs, &c. p. 349. A copy of these INSTRUCTIONS, which have not been printed before, I have inserted in the Appendix, No. X.

no concern; and directing the presbytery, without presuming to inquire into the lawfulness of their proceedings, to "stir up the people by their preaching and prayers to a cheerful obedience to their orders and a ready acquiescence in the engagement." (37)

To counteract this attempt to bring over the Scottish forces, the commission of the church immediately despatched the Rev. John Livingston, a man of deserved weight and influence in Ulster, to acquaint the presbytery with the true state of the controversy between the church and the royal party in the parliament, and prevent their being insnared into a compliance with the engagement. (38) But, notwithstanding the opposition of the presbytery and Mr. Livingston, several, though not all, of the Scottish regiments in Ulster readily entered into the views of their parliament. (39) "The commissioners," as Burnet writes, "were kindly received by such of the officers as had chief power there; but most unwelcome to a contrary party, who had notice how averse the kirk to which they were addicted had declared themselves from the designs of that parliament. Nevertheless it was quickly agreed to, that about twelve hundred horse and two thousand and one hundred foot should be provided and regimented, and transported to Scotland, to be conducted by Sir George Monro in the quality of a major-general, and to be joyned with the duke's armie." (40)

37 I had taken a copy of this 'Letter to the Presbytery' from the MS. Transactions of the Scottish army in the Advocates' Library, with the view of inserting it among the unpublished papers in the Appendix; but, finding it to be the same with that printed in Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons (pp. 348-9), I have not inserted it.

38 Livingston's Life, p. 37.

39 From the following vote of the commons on the 24th of July, it appears that several regiments had refused to accede to the engagement: "That the lord marquis of Argyle's and the earl of Glinkarne's [Glencairn's] regiments, and such other Scotch forces as remain in Ireland, and refuse to go out of the parliament's service, be provided for as the rest of the regiments are that serve the parliament." Journ. v. 645.

40 Burnet's Memoirs, &c. p. 349.

The army now raised to invade England, presented a complete contrast with that which had been levied for a similar purpose, four years previously. The officers and soldiers who composed the first Scottish army that marched into England were remarkable for their sober and devout deportment; each regiment was accompanied by its chaplain, and every tent resounded at evening with the voice of prayer and psalmody. The regiments now embodied were notorious for their profligacy and contempt of religion; and even before their departure for England, they broke out into serious outrages against the ministers and people unfriendly to the engagement.

"This army in Scotland," writes Adair, "being declared against by the ministers generally, and being levied out of the grossest sort of men, both officers and soldiers, who had least respect to the covenant and work of reformation, they, during the short time they had before they went to England, became very insolent, and upon the matter the enemies of both ministers and people who had any profession of godliness; not only threatening ministers and people, but committing outrageous actions upon them, even in public congregations and upon the soberest and most religious sort of people, who they thought did not approve their way. The same were the principles and practices of that part of the army here who were sent for to Scotland to join with them there, breathing out threatenings against the presbytery and all good people. The presbytery, being assisted with the reverend and worthy Mr. Livingston, sent from the commission of the church in Scotland, emitted a warning or Declaration against their proceedings; and the ministers read it from their pulpits, and before that kept public humiliation for preventing that unlawful engagement, and used all other means in their power for that end, both in the counties of Down and of Antrim, as well as in the Lagan, by sending some of their number there to give warning to those of the British army who were inclinable to go to Scotland. This faithfulness and freedom of ministers enraged that party, and made them intolerable

in their carriage not only to ministers, but to the country that generally owned the ministers."

The presbytery having thus borne a faithful testimony against the errors and defects in this fatal engagement, so obvious to every constitutional observer, sent over one of their members, the Rev. John Greg of Carrickfergus, to the general assembly convened at Edinburgh in the beginning of July. Through this commissioner they expressed their cordial concurrence with their parent-church in opposing this ill-advised attempt to restore the king to the throne; and at the same time they solicited, as on a former occasion, the assistance of an additional supply of ministers. (41) The assembly once more granted their request, and, owing to the subsequent confusions in the state, for the last time appointed a supply, which on this occasion consisted of the Rev. Alexander Livingston, Henry Semple, Andrew Lauder, and John Dick. These ministers visited Ulster in rotation; and, amid the conflict of political parties, laboured with fidelity and diligence to carry forward the extension of the church. "In these times there were frequent correspondences between presbyteries in Scotland and the presbytery in Ireland anent scandalous persons fled from Scotland hither; and accordingly the presbytery here did prosecute them here according to the desire of those presbyteries, usually returning them back to Scotland to answer their scandals there. The presbytery also, upon every necessary occasion, did keep correspondence with colonel Monck and Sir Charles Coote; and had their fair promises for concurring in settling presby-

41 The Minutes of this Assembly have been lost. The Appendix to the Acts for this year contains the following entries, which comprise all the information that can now be obtained of its proceedings in relation to the church in Ulster: "Sess. 2. Act concerning the commission from Ireland. Sess. 5. Refer petitions from Ireland for ministers to a committee. Sess. 16. Refer concerning ministers to Ireland to the commission to be appointed for public affairs. Advice concerning discipline to be used with the garrisons and regiments in Ireland. Letter to generall-major Monro. Sess. 30. Appointment of Messrs. Leviston, Sempell, Lauder, and Dick. Sess. 40. Letter to their brethren in Ireland."

terial government in their quarters, and restraining irregular ministers of the old conformists who acted without subordination to the presbytery; and also some private men who were venting the errors of independency and anabaptism. Colonel Monck's professions may appear by the letter returned in answer to divers demands of the presbytery, as well as those of Sir Charles Coote by his letter. The presbytery appointed a committee to consider these letters, and what overtures were thought fit to propose to the presbytery upon the same, with other particulars of moment. This committee consisted of three ministers, viz. Mr. Archibald Ferguson, Mr. Patrick Adair, and Mr. Anthony Shaw, with three elders, viz. captain Wallace, captain Eccles, and Mr. James Shaw of Ballygelly. The committee overtured, first, that two brethren be sent to visit the Lagan; and, secondly, that these brethren declare publickly against Erastianism, then much followed by the parliament of England; they also produced the draft of a letter to Sir Charles Coote; all of which the presbytery approved. An act too was made by the presbytery, that where ministers are necessitated to be absent from the presbytery at any time, and a process or any business be depending where they are concerned, that then they give an account by writing in order that such process or business be not retarded by their absence." (4

In the mean time the Scottish regiments, who had acceded to the engagement, set out for Scotland under the command of colonel, now major-general Sir George Monro. Their passage across the channel was not effected without considerable hazard and trouble. "They met with some danger and difficulty in their transportation, for the parliament of England (apparently fearing by their utter neglect of that army that some such course would be taken by them) sent two men of war to guard the passage betwixt Scotland and Ireland, who intercepted about three hundred foot of Dalyell's regiment, whom they disarmed and kept two days, but for want

[42] Adair's MS.

of victuals were willing to dismiss them again. (43) The rest made use of small vessels and the night-time, by which means and the narrowness of the sea they arrived all safe (albeit divers were chased) upon the Scottish shore; and, as they landed in parcels, they were ordered to march straight towards Carlisle;" where the main army, under the command of the duke of Hamilton, had taken up their quarters. (44) This expedition, as ill-conducted as it was ill-advised, was terminated by the battle of Preston, which was fought on the seventeenth of August. The Scottish forces were entirely defeated, the duke was soon after taken prisoner, and this second civil war happily brought to a speedy close. Its deplorable consequences, however, long distracted both kingdoms. It sealed the fate of Charles, who was thenceforward treated as a convicted traitor; it accelerated the subversion of the monarchy; and it laid the foundation of dissensions in Scotland, which afterwards rendered that kingdom an easy prey to the usurper.

Its unhappy effects extended even to Ulster. The English parliament, as might be anticipated, were indignant that any of the Scottish forces in Ulster, ostensibly engaged in their service and clamorous for arrears of pay, should join with their opponents in the invasion of England. Monck, their confidential commander in Ulster and the intimate friend of Cromwell, participated in this feeling. He had been long desirous to dispossess the Scots of their garrisons in the north; but, supported as Monro was by the presbytery and by the people of the province, and still at the head of a considerable force, he did not venture as yet to take so bold a step. The late occurrences, however, were favourable to his long-cherished design. Not only was Monro's military strength considerably weakened by the levies which had gone to England; but, by countenancing the engagement, his credit and influence with the presbyterian population had greatly decreased. The reckless excesses too of Sir George

43 See also Com. Journ. v. 645. 24 July. 44 Burnet's Memoirs, &c. p. 357.

Monro and his party in Scotland, after their defeat at Preston, excited the utmost detestation and alarm, which extended to Ulster, when it was found that he designed to return thither with the most daring and unprincipled of his followers. The presbyterians were naturally afraid, lest his kinsman, Robert Monro, should unite with this terrible scourge of their party, and refuse to protect them against his dreaded exactions. Monck, perceiving that the time had arrived when he might safely prosecute his designs against the Scots, resolved to take advantage of these jealousies and apprehensions; and, as the following narrative shows, he succeeded in effecting his object, and displayed throughout his characteristic duplicity and address.

"George Munro, after his disbanding, intended to return to this country, together with a profane crew of officers who had followed him, and who had been professed enemies to the ministry and people of God at his departure. The major-general Robert Monro, his father-in-law, though from his first coming to Ireland he had countenanced the presbytery, and been in his station very instrumental for promoving presbyterial government in the country; yet he had been consenting to the engagement against England, alleging that he was, by his commission from the parliament of Scotland, bound to answer their demands in disposing of the army or any part of it, according as he was required by their commissioners, which they did then require. Upon this, there was conceived a fear among good people that he would receive and entertain the said George's adherents in so far as he could advance them again; yet there was no desire in the country or ministers to be rid of him who had been so much their friend. However, colonel Monck, then commanding the British forces, cunningly fomented jealousies of that nature; and, understanding that major-general Monro had disobliged one of the Scotch regiments (Glencairn's) by straitening their quarters; and also the gentlemen who then had considerable interest in these quarters, by forcing the soldiers to oppress the tenants; he did secretly consult with

some of the officers of that regiment, especially captain Brice Cochrane and major Knox, together with those gentlemen that were concerned in the quarters, in what way the major-general's garrison might be surprised and be removed, withal promising great things to them if they would be instrumental in it. The gentlemen having a grudge at the major-general, and fearing his receiving of George Monro with his associates, and not discerning Monk's policy and what he was driving at, and not foreseeing the prejudice that would thence follow upon the Scotch army in Ireland after their long service and expence of so much blood against the Irish, they resolve to hazard by coming into the garrison by night; and, knowing the gates were carelessly kept in his quarters in Carrickfergus, so that they might, by the help of an ambush without the wall, surprise the soldiers at the north gate, and leave the gate open to a great party under Monk immediately to enter the town; all which they did early in the morning of September the twelfth, and surprised the major-general in his bed. Colonel Monk immediately shipped him for England, where he was kept prisoner in the tower of London for several, some say for five years. (45)

"Thus the major-general was discarded, and the interest of the Scotch army in Ireland easily broken by the inadvertency of a very few Scotch-men gulled by Monk. There was another Scotch gentleman, Sir Robert Adair, not being upon the contrivance but upon this occasion. He then had his residence in Scotland; but having a considerable estate in this country, and withal a troop of horse, given him by the king at the rebellion, which was now under the command of

[45] When the intelligence of the seizure of Carrickfergus and Belfast was communicated to the commons on the 28th of September, they voted the sum of £500 to be given to Monck "for this extraordinary service;" and directed all the ministers in London and Westminster to return thanks to God on the next Lord's Day, for this great "mercy of surprising the said garrisons, and taking the Scots prisoners." And on the 4th of October, after Monro had reached London and been committed to the Tower, the sum of £100 was voted to captain Brough, who had conveyed him from Carrickfergus. Rushworth, vii. 1277, 1284; Com. Jour. vi. 37, 41.

colonel Monk. He had come upon his occasions to Ireland, and after he had ordered his affairs, he was returning back as far as Belfast at that very time when these gentlemen were upon this project. He got strict orders from colonel Monk to return to his troop for some special service; and so returning and consulting in a council of war anent the business, though he declared his dislike of the design, especially carried on in that way; yet the authority of his commander forced him to enter the town with the rest, and in person to go to the major-general's lodging and apprehend him. This gentleman having been of unspotted carriage, and in great esteem in his station before this time for candour, religion, and many singular qualities, this action did relish worse in his person, though his circumstances in it were not like others concerned. The presbytery, out of gratitude to the major-general, their old friend and good instrument for promoving of discipline in the country, did much resent this practice in these gentlemen, and particularly in Sir Robert; and did refuse to admit them as members of the presbytery, though chosen as elders from their respective sessions; but Sir Robert returning shortly after to Scotland, and declaring how he was engaged in that affair, and the grounds upon which he went, had the approbation both of the state of Scotland and commission of the church, which was certified to the presbytery by a letter from the commission of the church. Meantime, as was before mentioned, colonel Monk countenanced the presbytery, and sat with it at Lisnegarvy, as their great friend and promoter; but it was the first and last presbytery that sat in that place." (46)

Thus, without alarming the presbyterian party in the province or disclosing his ulterior designs against them, Monck succeeded in wresting from Monro, their former patron, his

[46] Adair's MS. The biographers of Monck allege that Monro had formed a scheme for seizing the English commander; and that Monck—whose officers had signified their willingness to serve under Monro—had been compelled to act as he did. Skinner's Life of Monk, chap. iii. § 3; Gumble's ditto, p. 27.

principal garrison in Ulster. By singular dexterity he caused the Scots themselves to be the unconscious agents of his hostile projects; and though he had deprived the presbyterians of their chief strength and protection, and had laid them as a party defenceless at his feet, yet he had the address to persuade them that he was "their great friend and promoter," and to cajole them into the belief that they might confide in him even more fully than in Monro!

The possession of Carrickfergus being immediately followed by that of Belfast, Monck published a declaration, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in Ulster, explaining and vindicating his conduct in the seizure of these towns. This paper he required the officers to make known in their respective quarters, and "likewise prayed all pastors and ministers in their churches and parishes to publish the same." He also wrote letters to the lords Clanbrassil and Montgomery, Sir James Montgomery, and the other commanders of the old British forces, informing them of his proceedings, and directing them to send two hundred men from each of their regiments, with a fortnight's provisions, to join him in attacking Coleraine; the only other fortified place which was held by the Scots, and which, during the last six years, had been garrisoned by the regiment of general Leslie. To this peremptory order lord Montgomery and Sir James Montgomery replied in a joint letter, dated the seventeenth of September, "wherein they desire to know of colonel Monck his intentions and reasons of surprising Carrickfergus and of going against Coleraine, and of making major-general Monro prisoner; saying those two towns and Belfast were given by the king and parliament as cautionary towns that the Scottish army should receive their arrears of pay, and that the major-general was made commander by them in chief over the British forces in Ulster. To which letter colonel Monck replies civilly on the nineteenth of the same month from Carrickfergus, where he kept the said major-general in sure but favourable restraint: and in his said reply, having accepted of his lordship's and Sir James Montgomery's excuse

for not urging their commands upon that unwilling required party, (indeed their whole regiments and the lord Clanbrassil's were extremely averse, and highly stomached at such a march against their countrymen in Coleraine;) he prayed their favourable constructions of the surprise he had made as aforesaid, and promised kind usage to their relations and friends, and to give to themselves satisfactory reasons of his doings. He forthwith marched to Coleraine, and by getting the same (as he said he hoped without bloodshedding), he did complete his business in hand with a total breaking the Scottish army." (47)

Sir Charles Coote, the parliamentary commander at Derry, pursued a similar course against the regiments in that neighbourhood who were favourable to the engagement. Sir Robert Stewart, in particular, had entered warmly into the views of the engagers. From the commencement of the civil war his regiment had occupied the castle of Culmore, of which he had been appointed governor so early as the year 1638. He had never cordially co-operated with Coote; and, on embracing the Scottish engagement against the parliament, he retired to Culmore, which he kept well fortified, and by means of the artillery in the fort prevented all access to Derry by the sea. He seized some ships sent by the parliament with provisions for the supply of their forces in Derry; and at the same time detained several merchant vessels, 'which he would not suffer to pass or traffique with the city, until it was necessitated to grant him advantageous conditions.' (48) This interruption of the navigation was exceedingly mortifying to Coote, who, encouraged by Monck's success, laid a scheme, in the latter end of October, for treacherously seizing his opponent, whom he was not able openly to attack. Sir Robert, accompanied by colonel Audley Mervyn, was inveigled to attend a private baptism in the house of a friend in the city of Derry; and, while he was unsuspicious of danger, Coote surrounded the house and made him

47 Montg. MSS. pp. 202-3. 48 Rushworth, vii. 1385.

his prisoner, compelled him to give orders for the surrender of Culmore, and, by the direction of Monck, transmitted both him and Mervyn to London, to be tried by the parliament for their treasonable opposition to its authority. (49) Having thus obtained possession of Culmore, Coote soon after seized upon the castles at Lifford, Derg, and several other places, and speedily reduced that part of the province to subjection to his arms. By these means, the parliamentary or independent party, as opposed both to the prelatists the and presbyterians, were, before the end of the year, possessed of all the principal towns and castles in Ulster; with the solitary exception of Charlemont, which the Irish insurgents had occupied without interruption from the first breaking out of the rebellion. (50)

While the parliamentary commanders were thus extending their authority in Ulster, their companions in arms in England had proceeded to renew their unconstitutional interference with the legislature. During the time in which the army were occupied in repelling the Scottish invasion under Hamilton, the presbyterians had regained their ascendancy in parliament. (51) The eleven members formerly impeached and secluded by the army were restored to their seats; (52)

[49] Lodge, vi. 244. Rushworth, vii. 1385. [50] Carte, ii. 44.

[51] Hallam, in stating this fact, uses the following language:—"The party for distinction sake called presbyterian, but now rather to be called constitutional, regained its ascendancy." ii. 70. But, while we accept this candid and honourable testimony to the character of the presbyterians as a political party, we may be permitted to ask,—When could they be justly described in any other terms?—They were uniformly and consistently the constitutional party, opposed alike to despotic and democratic measures, the upholders of a limited monarchy, the advocates of reform, not revolution, and the friends of rational liberty.

[52] Sir John Clotworthy was, of course, one of the restored members. Immediately after his impeachment and exclusion by the army he retired to Holland, but, when within a few miles of Calais, the ship in which he was crossing the channel was taken by a frigate in the service of the parliament, and he was brought back to Dover. He was soon after dismissed, and reached the continent in safety. A full account of his escape may be found in Cobbett's State Trials, vol. iv. col. 911. On his restoration to his seat a difficulty occurred in his case, in consequence of a Mr. Mildmay having

and various resolutions were passed which evinced a return to constitutional measures, and encouraged the hope of a speedy settlement of the kingdom. But no sooner had the army terminated the war by their decisive victories, than they commenced their former course of agitation with increased violence. Their leaders no longer disguised their revolutionary projects for the execution of the king, the abolition of the house of lords, and the establishment of a republic. On the twentieth of November the council of officers presented to parliament their celebrated REMONSTRANCE, in which, among many other similar demands, they boldly required that the king should be brought to justice as the 'capital cause' of all the evils which had befallen the kingdom. The commons twice adjourned the consideration of this bold remonstrance; and, although the army, on the first of December, had forcibly removed the king to Hurst castle, and on the following day, under Fairfax, occupied Whitehall, and the quarters surrounding both houses, the presbyterian leaders, unawed by these intelligible menaces of expulsion, and determined, if possible, to save the constitution from military usurpation, voted the seizure of the king unwarranted; and, after a protracted debate of two days, by a majority of nearly fifty in a house consisting of above two hundred members, they resolved to continue the treaty then pending between their commissioners and the king for the final settlement of the peace of the empire. Irritated by these votes, the army immediately proceeded to execute their threats. On the following day a military detachment, under

been elected member for Malden during his seclusion from Parliament. On the 19th of June his case was referred to the committee of privileges, and on the 26th it was voted "that the election of Mr. Mildmay was void, and that Sir John Clotworthy be re-admitted a member of the house." Whitelocke, 314. He enjoyed his seat for only half a year, being one of those who, in the month of December, were again excluded, as stated in the text, by the army under Colonel Pride: an act of violence which has been wittily though coarsely called '*Pride's purge*.' On this occasion Sir John was imprisoned first at the King's head inn in the Strand, and afterwards at the Gatehouse in Westminster, where he continued confined nearly three years.

the command of colonel Pride, seized nearly fifty members, all of the presbyterian party, as they were preparing to enter the House; and on the next day nearly one hundred others were either secured, or denied admittance, or forced to fly from the metropolis.

The Commons, thus purged of the presbyterian members, and reduced to a scanty minority of independents and other sectaries, appropriately styled the RUMP parliament, proceeded to carry into execution the violent projects of their imperious taskmasters,—the army. On the sixteenth of December the king was removed to Windsor; and, after several preliminary steps had been taken, on the first of January 1649 an ordinance for the formal trial of the unhappy monarch was passed by the commons; but on the following day was unanimously rejected by the lords, in a house consisting of twelve peers. The commons, however, were not to be diverted from their desperate courses by the opposition of the lords. Accordingly, on the sixth of January, another ordinance of the same import as the former was passed by them in their own name, without reference to the other house of parliament, by which one hundred and thirty-three persons were appointed as commissioners to constitute a high court of justice for the trial of the king. On the twentieth, the king appeared for the first time before this extraordinary tribunal of his subjects in Westminster Hall; but, though arraigned on three successive days, he resolutely declined its authority and refused to plead. Having recorded his refusal, the court proceeded, during the two subsequent days, to take evidence of his appearing in arms and levying war against the parliament and people of England. On the twenty-seventh, the commissioners sat for the last time, and, having voted him guilty of treason and worthy of death, sentenced him to be beheaded on the third day afterwards. The only state in Europe which, on this emergency, interposed on behalf of Charles was the presbyterian republic of the United provinces; (53) but, although their offer of medi-

[53] Godwin, ii. 678.

ation was supported by a spirited and faithful remonstrance against the execution of the king, signed by fifty-seven ministers, of the Provincial Synod of London, the sentence of the court was carried into effect; and on the thirtieth of January Charles was beheaded at Whitehall, in the forty-ninth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

CHAPTER XIV.

Parties in Ulster at the death of Charles—Political views of the presbyterians—The presbytery protest against the murder of the King—Their Representation—They write to Coote and Monck—Royalists join them—Correspondence between the Presbytery and Monck—Proceedings in the Lagan—Negociations between Monck and the council of the army—Declaration of the army and country—Monck's queries—The presbytery publish their Vindication—Presbyterians possess Ulster with the exception of Derry—Which is held by Coote—And besieged by the Lagan forces—Commencement of the siege—Carried on by Sir R. Stewart and George Monro—Dissensions among the besiegers—Case of Ker and O'Queen—They refuse to read the Representation—Are suspended by the presbytery—Monro takes Coleraine—Belfast seized by lord Montgomery, who joins Ormond against the presbyterians—Feelings of the presbytery at his treachery—Their first letter to him—His answer—Their second letter—He takes Carrickfergus—And publishes his declaration—The presbytery publish a counter-declaration—Ordinations of Maine, Richardson, and others—Alarm of the ministers—Several retire to Scotland—Proceedings at the siege of Derry—Presbyterians refuse to serve under Montgomery, and abandon the siege—He is compelled to withdraw from Derry—Arrival of Cromwell in Ireland.

The complicated affairs of Ulster, during the year succeeding the death of the king, cannot be clearly understood without a previous knowledge of the several parties who were, at this period, struggling for power in Ireland. These parties consisted of the two opposing classes of Romanists and protestants; but each of these was sub-divided into distinct factions. There were two Roman catholic, and not less than three protestant parties. First were the ultra-Romanists, headed by Glamorgan and the papal nuncio, who would be satisfied with nothing short of the complete ascendancy of their church, the exclusion of all protestant influ-

ence from Ireland, and the placing of the kingdom under the protection of a catholic sovereign. Opposed to these bigoted champions for the authority of the pope were the more moderate Romanists under the lords Clanricarde, Muskerry, and other catholic noblemen, who, being jealous of the predominance of foreign influence in the kingdom, were attached to Ormond and the British connexion; and, in the expectation of ample toleration, were anxious to maintain the monarchy in the person of the king's eldest son. Of the protestants, the two extreme factions were the prelatical royalists under Ormond, and the republican independents and other sectaries under Jones and Cromwell; each of which sought and partly obtained the co-operation of the less rigid Romanists in forwarding their respective designs; —the one, to restore the hierarchy, and to place Charles the Second on the throne without any limitation of the prerogative;—the other, to destroy all regal authority in the state, and all settled government in the church, whether under the episcopalian or presbyterian form.

The third protestant party consisted of the PRESBYTERIANS, who had, from the commencement of the civil war, uniformly pursued the same constitutional line of policy,—that of upholding an hereditary and limited monarchy, but with adequate securities on the subject of religion. To these principles they still consistently adhered. They concurred with the royalists in condemning the execution of the king, and in maintaining the right of his son to the throne; and with the republicans in opposing the restoration of prelacy, and the ascendancy of the Romanist party in Ireland: but they differed from the former in proposing to place restrictions on the exercise of the prerogative; and from the latter in upholding the authority of the king and the house of lords; while they differed from both in adhering to the covenant, and in seeking to establish presbyterian church government in opposition both to prelacy and to independency. At this critical conjuncture they were amongst the first to protest against the trial of the king, and to denounce

his execution as murder. The royalists and episcopalians joined, indeed, in this protest upon their favourite maxims of passive obedience and non-resistance; but it ought to be carefully remembered that the presbyterians were guided by no such slavish principles.(1) They proceeded on wholly

[1] The high-church party, indeed, carried their views of the murder of the king to a most extravagant length. Would it be believed ?—they seriously pronounced it to be a more criminal act than the crucifixion of our blessed Lord! This most profane idea, which has since been so repeatedly enlarged upon in 30th of January sermons, seems to have been originally suggested by General Digby, in a letter to Ormond, dated Feb. 21, 1649 (Carte, iii. 607); but the merit of first placing before the public this parallel between the king and the Saviour, in all its blasphemous details, belongs to the famous Henry Leslie, the exiled Bishop of Down and Connor. In June 1649 he preached a sermon before Charles II. then at Breda, which he afterwards published with this title, "The Martyrdome of King Charles, or his conformity with Christ in his sufferings." Hague, 1649, pp. 32. He took for his text 1 Cor. ii. 5., and, after explaining its direct application to Christ, he illustrated the similarity between the Lord of glory, and "the glorious Lord" as he styled the King, in a variety of minute particulars, taking due care to give the preference to Charles, and to show that "the proceedings against our Soveraigne were more illegal, and in many things more cruell," than against Christ; and that the executioners of the one were much more "monstrous traitors" than the crucifiers of the other. Nay, he satisfactorily makes them out to be worse than devils, for the devils, says he, never rise against their "Prince, though he be as bad as can be; but the puritans rage against their king be he ever so good, as indeed our gracious soveraign was the best of kings." But he prudently excuses himself from enlarging on the "heroicall and Christian graces" of Charles, by observing —"that is a theam fitter for the tongues of angels than of men." He is at no loss to find even the miraculous circumstance of our Lord's crucifixion paralleled in the case of Charles. "When Christ was apprehended he wrought a miraculous cure for an enemy, healing Malcus his eare after it was cut off: so it is well known that God inabled our soveraigne when he was in prison to worke many wonderfull cures even for his enemies.—When our Saviour suffered there were terrible signes and wonders; for there was darknesse over all the land, the earth did shake, the rocks clave asunder, the vaile of the temple was rent, and the graves were opened; so—it was thought very prodigious that when he suffered the ducks forsooke their pond at St. James's, and came as farre as White-hall, fluttering about the Scaffold: so that our soveraigne might have said unto his murtherers, as it is in Job. 12, 7.

different grounds. They protested against the execution of Charles, not upon the ground of the servile figment that a king is above law and not amenable to justice; nor upon the unfounded plea that he had not grossly violated the fundamental law of the constitution which he had sworn to uphold; nor yet from opposition to the abstract principle that it is the right of a nation to resist and depose a king, and even proceed to the infliction of death, if absolutely necessary to rescue the liberties of a people from the ruinous grasp of a tyrant. But when the nation, by its legal governors and representatives, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, had freed itself from the yoke of despotism attempted to be imposed upon it, and was able to dictate satisfactory terms of peace and ensure their observance, they conceived it to be a monstrous violation of all liberty and law, and a more arbitrary and dangerous exercise of power than any which could be laid to the charge of the king, for an armed force to expel with violence out of the house of commons the majority of its members—to abolish the house of lords by the mere right of the sword—and then to execute the king and wholly alter the frame of the government, in opposition to the overwhelming majority of the nation, who beheld with amazement, but were unable to resist, these tyrannical acts of a military usurpation. "The presbyterians, without retracting their principles of liberty or designs of reform, and though far from being satisfied with the tardy concessions, or from confidently relying on the promises or good affections of the king to their cause, yet saw the importance of preserving the form of royalty even in the hands of such a king, now humbled, and restricted as he was to be for the future; and that it was more eligible and conducive to the public welfare

Aske the beasts and they will tell thee, and the fowles of the heaven and they will instruct thee." Another point of resemblance must not be omitted:—"The presbyterians murdered the king in his politicall capacity, the independents in his naturall capacity. Thus our Soveraigne, as well as our Saviour, was crucified between two theeves, but neither of them a good theefe."

to accept of what could for the present be obtained, than to run the risk of losing all, or of dissolving all regular government, and introducing general anarchy in the strife of contending parties, and of drenching the land again in blood." (2)

In conformity with these principles the presbytery in Ulster, though deprived of the protection of the Scottish army, and surrounded by the anti-monarchical party under Monck and Coote, were not backward in testifying their detestation of the murder of the king, and the overthrow of lawful authority in England. On Thursday, the fifteenth of February, the earliest day on which they could assemble after the intelligence of the late events had reached Ulster, the presbytery met at Belfast, and took into their consideration the alarming aspect of public affairs. The result of their deliberations, which were prolonged during several sittings and accompanied by anxious prayer, was the following REPRESENTATION, which they ordered to be read from all their pulpits, and which must be inserted at length, to illustrate their principles, and vindicate their subsequent proceedings.

"A Necessary Representation of the present evils and imminent dangers to religion, laws, and liberties, arising from the late and present practices of the sectarian party in England and their abettors; together with an exhortation to duties relating to the covenant unto all within our charge, and to all the well affected within this kingdom. By the Presbytery at Belfast, February the 15th, 1649. (3)

2 Life of Morus, by the Rev. Archibald Bruce of Whitburn; pp. 91-2.

3 This paper I have printed from the copy in the 'Sample of Jet Black Prelatic Calumny, &c.' which, it is there stated, was taken from the original. It differs in some respects, but not of any great importance, from that printed at the time in London, in a pamphlet, entitled, "A necessary Examination of a dangerous design and practice against the interest and sovereignty of the nation and commonwealth of England, by the presbytery t Belfast, in the province of Ulster in Ireland, in their scandalous, malicious, and treasonable libel, by them called, 'A necessary Representation of the present and eminent danger to religion, laws, and liberties, &c.' London, 4to.

"When we consider the great and many duties which we owe unto God and his people, over whom he hath made us overseers, and for whom we must give an account; and when we behold the laudable examples of the worthy ministers of the province of London, and of the commissioners of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, in their free and faithful testimonies against the insolencies of the sectarian party in England; as also considering the dependance of our land upon the kingdom of England, and remembering how, against strong opposition, we were assisted by the Lord the last year in discharge of the like duty, and how the Lord punished the contempt of our warning upon the despisers thereof; we find ourselves as necessitated so the more encouraged to cast in our mite in the treasury, lest our silence should involve us in the guilt of unfaithfulness, and our people in security and neglect of their duties.

"In the discharge of the trust put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or broachers of national and divisive motions; our record is in heaven that nothing is more hateful to us, or less intended by us; and therefore we shall not fear the malicious and wicked aspersions which we know Satan by his instruments is ready to cast, not only upon us, but on all who sincerely endeavour the advancement of reformation.

"What have been, and now are, the insolent and presumptuous practices of that sectarian army in England is not unknown to the world. For first, notwithstanding of their

1649, pp. 22. This Representation was laid before the parliament in a letter from Monck on the 28th of March (Jour. vi. 175), and on the very same day Milton was employed by the council of state to write an answer to it, in common with some other papers against the usurpers. Todd's Milton, p. 107. This necessary task he performed in his well known 'Observations,' a few of which I have annexed to the several passages to which they refer. Towards the beginning he makes this general remark:—"Of this Representation, therefore, we can esteem and judge no other than of a slanderous and seditious libel, sent abroad by a sort of incendiaries to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plausible name of a presbytery." Milton's Prose Works, folio, ii. 550.

specious pretences for religion and liberties, yet their late and present acting being therewith compared, do clearly evidence that they love a rough garment to deceive ; (4) since they have with a high hand despised the covenant, which is so strong a foundation to both, while they condemn it with slighting reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary interests, and a snare to the people ; and likewise endeavour to establish by law an universal toleration of all religions, which is an avowed overturning of unity in religion, and so repugnant to the word of God and the two first articles of the covenant, which is greater wickedness in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves, with their hands lifted up to the most high God, have sworn and sealed it.

" Moreover, their great dissatisfaction with the settlement of religion, and their further breach of covenant, doth appear by their strong opposition to presbyterian government (the

4 " But if they mean, as more probably their meaning was, that rough garment spoken of in Zech. xiii. 4, we may then behold the pitiful store of learning and theology which these deceivers have thought sufficient to uphold their credit with the people ; who, though the rancour that leavens them have somewhat quickened the common drawling of their pulpit elocution, yet for want of stock enough in scripture phrases to serve the necessary uses of their malice, they are became so liberal as to part freely with their own budge gowns from off their backs, and bestow them on the magistrate as a ' rough garment to deceive,' rather than not be furnished with a reproach, though never so improper, never so obvious to be turned upon themselves. —So that this ' rough garment to deceive' we bring ye once again, grave Sirs, into your own vestry, or with Zachary shall not think much to fit it to your own shoulders. To bestow ought in good earnest on the magistrate we know your classic priestship is too gripple, for ye are always begging ; and for this rough gown to deceive we are confident ye cannot spare it. It is your Sunday's gown, your every-day gown, your only gown, the gown of your faculty, your divining gown ; to take it from you were sacrilege. Wear it, therefore, and possess it yourselves, most grave and reverend Carmelites, that all men, both young and old, as we hope they will shortly, may yet better know you and distinguish you by it ; and give to your rough gown wherever they meet it, whether in pulpit, classis, or provincial Synod, the precedency and the pre-eminence of deceiving." Milton, *ut supra*, pp. 551-2.

hedge and bulwark of religion), while they express their hatred to it more than to the worst of errors, by excluding it under the name of compulsion, while they embrace even paganism and judaism in the arms of toleration. Not to speak of their aspersions upon it and the assertors thereof as anti-christian and popish, though they have deeply sworn, in the first article of the covenant, to maintain the same government as it is in the church of Scotland, which now they so despitefully blaspheme.

" Again, it's more than manifest that they seek not the vindication, but extirpation of laws and liberties, (5) as appears by their seizing upon the person of the king, and at their pleasure removing him from place to place, not only without the consent (if we mistake not) but against a direct ordinance of parliament; their violent surprising, imprisoning, and secluding many of the most worthy members of the honourable house of commons, directly against the declared privilege of parliament, an action certainly without a parallel in any age; and their purposes of abolishing all parliamentary power for the future, and establishing a representative, as they call it, instead thereof.

" Neither hath their fury stopt here, but without rule or example, being but private men, have proceeded to the trial of the king, against both the interest and protestation of the kingdome of Scotland, and the former public declarations of both kingdoms; and (besides their violent haste rejecting any defences) with cruel hands they put him to death, an act so horrible as no history, divine or human, ever had a precedent to the like. (6)

[5] " And here, utterly forgetting to be ministers of the gospel, they presume to open their mouths, not in the spirit of meekness, as, like dissemblers, they pretend, but with as much devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood as any Irish rebel could have uttered, and from a barbarous nook of Ireland brand us with the extirpation of laws and liberties; things which they seem as little to understand as ought that belongs to good letters or humanity." Milton, *ut supra*, p. 553.

[6] " Their grand accusation is our justice done on the king, which that they may prove to be without rule or example they venture all the credit

"These and other detestable insolencies may abundantly convince every unbiassed judgment that the present practices of the sectaries and their abettors do directly overturn the laws and liberties of the kingdom, root out all lawful and supreme magistracy (the just privileges whereof we have sworn to maintain), and introduce a fearful confusion and lawless anarchy.

"The spirit of God by Solomon tells us, that 'a servant to reign' is one of the four things for which the earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear. We wonder nothing that the earth is disquieted for those things; but we wonder greatly that the earth can bear them. (7) And albeit the

they have in divine and human history; and by the same desperate boldness detect themselves to be egregious liars and impostors, seeking to abuse the multitude with a show of that gravity and learning which never was their portion. Had their knowledge been equal to the knowledge of any stupid monk or abbot, they would have known at least, though ignorant of all things else, the life and acts of him who first instituted their order; but these blockish presbyters of Claneboy know not that John Knox, who was the first founder of presbytery in Scotland, taught professedly the doctrine of deposing and of killing kings.—But wherefore spend we two such precious things as time and reason upon priests, the most prodigal mispenders of time and the scarcest owners of reason." Milton, *ut supra*, p. 553. This skilful disputant takes care to assume that the execution of the king was the deliberate act of the nation, who could not otherwise secure their liberties against a tyrant, which is the case alluded to by Knox; whereas it was the act of a mere fraction of the people, a turbulent and daring junto, whose sword had acquired power which they determined to hold in opposition to all settled government.

7 "What they are for ministers, or how they crept into the fold, whether at the window or through the wall, or who set them there so haughty in the pontifical see of Belfast, we know not; but this we rather have cause to wonder if the earth can bear this insufferable insolency of upstarts, who from a ground which is not their own dare send such defiance to the sovereign magistracy of England, by whose authority and in whose right they inhabit there. By their actions we might rather judge them to be a generation of highland thieves and red-shanks, who, being neighbourly admitted, not as the Saxons by merit of their warfare against our enemies, but by the courtesy of England to hold possessions in our province, a country better than their own, have with worse faith than those heathen proved ungrateful and treacherous guests to their best friends and entertainers." Milton,

Lord so permit, 'that fools be set in great dignity and the rich sit in low place,'—'that servants ride upon horses and princes walk as servants upon the earth;' yet the same wise man saith, 'delight is not seemly for a fool, much less for servants to have rule over princes.'

"When we seriously consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our dislike and detestation of such unwarrantable practices, directly subverting our covenant, religion, laws, and liberties; and as watchmen seasonably to warn all the lovers of truth, and the well-affected to the covenant, carefully to avoid compliance with, or not bearing witness against, such horrid insolencies, lest partaking with them in their sins they be also partakers with them in their plagues; therefore in the spirit of meekness we earnestly entreat, and in the authority of Jesus Christ (whose servants we are) charge and obtest all who resolve to adhere unto

ut supra, p. 555.—These few quotations furnish a fair sample of the scurrility and overbearing violence, and contempt of the ministerial office, by which the usurping faction and their abettors were characterised. One redeeming passage, however, is worthy of being subjoined. "The covenant enjoins us to endeavour the extirpation first of popery and prelacy, then of heresy, schism, and prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and proper means; but these divines might know that to extirpate all these things can be no work of the civil sword, but of the spiritual, which is the word of God. No man well in his wits, endeavouring to root up weeds out of his ground, instead of using the spade, will take a mallet or a beetle. Nor doth the covenant any way engage us to extirpate or to prosecute the men, but the heresies and errors in them; which, we tell these divines and the rest that understand not, belongs chiefly to their own function in the diligent preaching and insisting upon sound doctrine, in the confuting not railing down errors, encountering both in public and private conference, and by the power of truth not of persecution subduing those authors of heretical opinions, and lastly in the spiritual execution of church discipline within their own congregations. In all these ways we shall assist them, favour them, and, as far as appertains to us, join with them; and moreover not tolerate the free exercise of any religion which shall be found absolutely contrary to sound doctrine or the power of godliness; for the conscience, we must have patience till it be within our verge; and thus doing we shall believe to have kept exactly all that is required from us by the covenant." Milton, *ut supra*, p. 552.

truth and the covenant, diligently to observe and conscientiously to perform these following duties:

"First, that according to our solemn covenant, every one study more to the power of godliness and personal reformation of themselves and families, because for the great breach of this part of the covenant God is highly offended with these lands, and justly provoked to permit men to be the instruments of our misery and afflictions.

"Secondly, that every one in their station and calling earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints; and seek to have their hearts established with grace, that they be not unstable and wavering, carried about with every wind of doctrine, but that they receive the truth in love, avoiding the company of such as withdraw from and vilify the public ordinances, speak evil of church-government, invent damnable errors under the specious pretence of a gospel-way and new light, and highly extol the persons and courses of notorious sectaries; lest God give them over to strong delusions (the plague of these times) that they may believe lies and be damned.

"Thirdly, that they would not be drawn by counsel, command, or example, to shake off the ancient and fundamental government of these kingdoms by king and parliament, which we are so deeply engaged to preserve by our solemn covenant, as they would not be found guilty of the great evil of these times (condemned by the Holy Ghost) the despising of dominion and speaking evil of dignities.

"Fourthly, that they do cordially endeavour the preservation of the union amongst the well-affected in the kingdoms, not being swayed by any national respect, remembering that part of the covenant, 'that we shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction.' And,

"Finally, albeit there be more present hazard from the power of sectaries (as were from malignants the last year), yet we are not ignorant of the evil purposes of malignants

even at this time in all the kingdoms, and particularly in this; and for this cause we exhort every one with equal watchfulness to keep themselves free from associating with such, or from swerving in their judgments to malignant principles; and to avoid all such persons as have been, from the beginning, known opposers of reformation, refusers of the covenant, combining themselves with papists and other notorious malignants, especially such who have been chief promoters of the late Engagement against England, calumniators of the work of reformation, in imputing the miseries of the present times unto the advancers thereof; and that their just hatred to sectaries incline not their minds to favour malignants, or to think that, because of the power of sectaries, the cause of God needs the more to fear the enmity or to stand in need of the help of malignants." (8)

At the same meeting at which this important document was drawn up, the presbytery unanimously resolved to renew the solemn league and covenant on the Sabbath eight days following, and appointed a fast to be held in the previous week. They also sent a copy of their Representation to Sir Charles Coote at Derry, with a letter inviting him to join in the covenant, and unite with them in opposition to the usurped authorities in England; and they despatched the Rev. Anthony Kennedy of Templepatrick, with a similar letter to colonel Monck, then at Dundalk. The latter officer in reply stated his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the presbytery, and entreated them to delay the publication of their paper from the pulpit until his return to the north, when he promised to call a council of war at Lisburn to confer with them. Coote was more explicit in his reply. In the name of the council of war assembled at Derry on the seventh of March, he stated several reasons for declining to concur with the presbytery, and pointed out the ' sad consequences which

[8] The latter part of this Representation is not given in the ' Sample of Jetblack Prelatic Calumny,' but is taken from the copy printed in Milton's Prose Works, ii. 566, 68.

would unavoidably follow if he should pursue the intention of the Representation;' among which the dread of his supplies from England being cut off held the first place. (9) In the meantime, the presbytery proceeded agreeably to the resolutions adopted. On the last Sabbath of February the Representation was publicly read in all their churches by the respective ministers, and the solemn league and covenant formally renewed by the people; and on the following Sabbath the same duties were performed in vacant parishes by the adjoining ministers. "And it was observed," writes Adair, an eye-witness of these events, "that those who before had been no friends to the covenant, on the king's account, now became very zealous for it, and owned the Representation, notwithstanding it declared against the malignants making new use of that opportunity for preserving the king's interest asserted by the covenant. But when their other helps were gone, they were glad to take hold of it. Therefore the lords Clancboy and Ards, with their officers, did generally and with great alacrity renew the covenant. Yea, they made a show of some reformation for a time, restraining all drinking, swearing, and profane courses, as had been usual among them. They entertained the ministers kindly, and did much simulate strictness; but still with a secret intention to espouse the old quarrel in the person of the young king. Therefore they found it their fittest course to deceive the well-meaning ministers and good people in the country with fair pretences, till once they got themselves formed in power, and some capacity to work their own ends: especially having the marquess of Ormond then in Ireland with a very considerable body, (10) and having some hopes that Monk would comply with him. In all this

[9] Coote's reply is given at length in Borlace's Irish Rebellion, pp. 207-8.

[10] Ormond had returned to Ireland in the end of the previous September, and in January had concluded another peace with the Irish confederates, but too late to be of any advantage to Charles, then on the point of trial. Immediately after the death of the king he proclaimed Charles II.; and was now endeavouring, out of the confederate Irish and the northern protestants, to organize a royalist party for placing the young king upon the throne, unrestricted as to either prerogative or religion.

the lord of Ards was the great contriver, director, and pattern in his own carriage; carrying himself so fair and so friendly with the presbytery, and pretending concurrence in all the ends of the covenant, as that few doubted his integrity; even while, without, he kept constant correspondence with Ormond who then commanded the king's forces in Ireland. Meantime the commission of the general assembly of the church of Scotland sent a letter to the presbytery to this effect; not knowing of their renewing of the covenant, and having heard a good account there of Monk and Coote concurring with the presbytery." (11)

So soon as Monck had returned from Dundalk to Lisburn, he resumed correspondence with the presbytery. This crafty politician saw that he was not yet prepared for coming to an open disagreement with them, or for coercing the sturdy and resolute presbyterians of Down and Antrim into submission to the present usurpation. He had, therefore, recourse to his usual arts of dissimulation and evasion. During the months of March and April various papers passed between him and his council of war, on the one hand, and the presbytery and council of the army and country, on the other; accompanied by protracted and fruitless negotiations, the detail of which will be best narrated in the words of one of the leading ministers at this period. (12)

"The presbytery, having renewed the covenant in their own congregations and those about them who were willing, appointed some of their number to repair to General Monk and the council of war of the British forces at Lisnegarvey, to desire that an order may be given for renewing the covenant by the army, and in their garrisons. The presbytery

[11] Adair's MS. The Rev. A. Stewart of Donaghadee attended the commission in Edinburgh on behalf of the presbytery, and by him they sent their letter in reply, dated the 1st of February, 1649. MS. Min. of Com. of Gen. Ass. p. 150.

[12] Adair's account is corroborated by a letter from colonel James Wallace, so frequently mentioned in these pages, to the Rev. Robert Douglass of Edinburgh, Moderator of the General Assembly, which I have inserted in the Appendix, No. XI. as it furnishes several additional particulars worthy of being preserved.

made this proposal in an humble and respectful manner to the chief commander. The general and council of war returned answer by their commissioners, lieutenant-colonel Trail and major Ellis, that they thought it not expedient at this time, seeing it had been sworn before, and was now renewed by the most part of the congregations; and any who had not might do it if they pleased. But they judged it inconvenient to give an order for it; withal reading a protestation that they all resolved to adhere to the ends of the covenant against all enemies of it. But the presbytery could not obtain a copy, neither was this protestation subscribed. The presbytery ordained one of their number to repair to the council of war; and from them to declare their dissatisfaction of the council's answer, and that they ought to renew the covenant themselves in giving order for it. And because colonel Monk had promised a council of war to consult of means for securing the country, consisting of some officers from each regiment and some country gentlemen of both counties, the presbytery appointed their commissioner to remind the general of his promise; and withal they appointed a committee of their own ministers and elders to attend the said council of war, and have their own meetings from time to time in order to the preservation of religion; which accordingly they did.

"Meantime the presbytery sent two of their number to the Lagan to offer the covenant to congregations who would take it there; which they accordingly did, and found many very willing, and others not. The commissioners also, being appointed by the presbytery so to do, proposed the same desires to Sir Charles Coote at Derry which had been made to colonal Monk anent the covenant. But he refused, seeing that the covenant did not now bear sway in England as formerly; and the prevailing party there slighting it, he turned his course another way, and all along complied with the prevailing party. Notwithstanding, the presbytery from time to time sent down brethren to water these parts, there being very few ministers yet planted there.

"The presbytery ordered too that where any person hath at first spoken against the covenant or refused it, before they be admitted to it that they be convinced of that scandal, and publickly acknowledge it; and that this be publickly intimated in congregations. Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham in subscribing the covenant had this singular condition in Latin—'Ego G. C. subscribo tantum morali parti hujus fœderis.' The presbytery being informed of this limitation judged it scandalous, and ordered the said lieutenant-colonel Cunningham to acknowledge his sin and offence publickly before the congregation of Carrickfergus, and that he tear the subscription out of the paper, and subscribe as usual; which accordingly he did. On this, the presbytery ordained that those who refused to take the covenant in a due manner shall be declared enemies to it publickly before the congregations where they dwell. The presbytery having commissioners in the Lagan gave a commission to them, with the few ministers settled there, to meet in a committee with proportionable ruling elders, to consult of the affairs relating to the church and covenant there, and return their diligence to the presbytery. Withal they direct divers letters to considerable gentlemen in the country, whom they found in any measure favourable to the covenant and work of God, to encourage and thank them; particularly to Sir Alexander Stewart, a gentleman of great integrity, and fervent for propagating the gospel interest in these parts. (13) They also wrote to colonel Saunderson, a sober gentleman; (14) and to others.

"Meantime the presbytery renewed the commission to

[13] Sir Alexander Stewart was the eldest son of Sir William Stewart, of whom frequent mention has already been made in these pages. He was a decided presbyterian, but was, unhappily, killed at the battle of Dunbar in Scotland in the following year, leaving one only son, born six weeks after his father's death, who afterwards became the first Baron Stewart of Ramelton and Viscount Mountjoy. Lodge ii. 247-8. See Chapter xviii. Note. 48.

[14] Of Castle-Saunderson, in the county of Cavan, where his descendants, who rank among the first families in that county, still reside.

their committee to attend the council of war, and give them advice in point of conscience, in order to the securing of the country and of religion therein. And the presbytery being inquired by their brethren of the committee, what might be the least they would accept from colonel Monk and the council of war for security of religion; the presbytery resolved upon these four heads:—First, that the general and council of war subscribe the covenant, and give orders for the same to those under their command. Secondly, that colonel Monk take no orders from the prevalent party in England which may not be consistent with the covenant. Thirdly, that he act nothing of public concernment without a council of war, till there be a free parliament in England. Fourthly, that he give a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition to every regiment for the defence of religion and the country. These four proposals the committee afterwards made to colonel Monk; and withal at this time most of the congregations of the country sent some of the most discreet and knowing persons of their number with petitions to colonel Monk and the council of war to Lisnegarvey much to the same purpose; declaring their sense of God's mercy by their quiet enjoying the gospel at present; and withal their hazard through enemies on all hands, Irish (many whereof were lately protected and armed), malignants, and sectaries; and desiring the general, the council of war, and the army, would engage in the covenant and put the country in a posture of defence against the enemies thereof. Unto these petitions from the country and humble desires from the presbytery, there were some specious arguments given by Monk to comply with the times and circumstances he was in; but so as not to disown the prevailing party in England, nor to secure the ends of the covenant; although the most part of the council of war would have concurred with these desires as reasonable and religious. Upon this, there were divers messages between the presbytery and him, with debates in writing; in all which the presbytery always discovered and showed that in his answers and

seeming concessions to their demands he reserved a latitude and evasions to himself; never closely nor cordially complying with the ends at which they were driving, but always keeping himself free to join with whatever party would most prevail.

"It was not only the presbytery and their committee who dealt with colonel Monk in those affairs, but also the officers of the army. He thought to have trepanned them to a declaration on a sudden in a council of war, which (many of them under his command being men of good principles) they did refuse till further consideration and advising with the regiments. Upon this they appointed a meeting of the most considerable officers; by which meeting this declaration was refused, and another drawn up, which, after it was seen by the presbytery, and some amendments made to it, was appointed. (15) The

[15] This meeting of the 'council of the army' was held at Newtonards, in the county of Down, on the 30th of March. The following is a copy of their reply to Monck, declining to join in his ensnaring Declaration, which I found among the manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin. F. 3. 18. p. 618.

"Honourable Sir,

"That we might unanimously declare unto you the mind of the army concerning that declaration sent by you to the several regiments, entituled, 'An act of the council of war, which the general officers, who are there annexed to, have assented to,' we had a meeting here, and do so mean, if this declaration be proposed to us as a trial of our affections, it is altogether unnecessary, we having so great testimony of our sincerity to this service by our long and faithful continuance therein, and our late solemn renewing of the covenant, whereby we are to oppose all enemies of religion, king, and country. Neither are we satisfied how we can in conscience join in any new association with such as will not cordially renew the covenant with us, now when our duty to God and man requires it at our hands: of which we have thought it necessary to give you notice by these gentlemen, Mr. John Edmonstone, captain Hugh Moore, and captain Henry Jellet, and earnestly to entreat you to give satisfaction to the just desires of the church, army and country, for which they are entrusted, that so we may the more heartily join in the public service, and approve ourselves your affectionate humble servants,

"Newton, the 30th of March, 1649.

"Clanbrassil,* J. Campbell, Geo. Keith,
"Montgomerie, Colin Maxwell, Hans Hamilton,
"Hugh Cochrane, Rich. Kilgore, George Ross,
"James Wallace, Fergus Kennedy."

* This was James Hamilton, the second Viscount Claneboy, who had been created by Charles I. in 1647 Earl of Clanbrassil. He died in 1659. Lodge, iii. 4, 5.

reasons for rejecting the declaration framed by Monk were—first, because he shifted the renewing of the covenant, and proposed prosecuting the rebels as the only present duty; secondly, he mentioned rebels in general terms, not Irish rebels, according to the usual designation, by which term he might mean those who rebel against the present pretended parliament in England, called the Rump; thirdly, because he mentioned nothing of the sectaries in it; fourthly, because he required in it absolute obedience to himself against all such as he should require. And, though he added this condition, 'according to the ends of the covenant,' yet that binds not him who answers the ends of the covenant in so lax a sense as to allege that the party in England break it not. The other declaration was framed by the lord of Ards and the army; and was afterwards somewhat refined and approved by the presbytery."

"Colonel Monk dealt subtilly to endeavour to engage the officers to his declaration under fair pretences, before the other came to their hand. But the committee of the presbytery, being then at Belfast, where colonel Monk had met with the council of war, dealt with the officers in a meeting with them to subscribe first their own declaration before they take into consideration the other proposed by Monk; and gave them these reasons in writing to persuade them so to do: —First, because the subscribing this declaration unites the army unto the ends formerly proposed, against tentation to the contrary which is now carrying on; secondly, every day's delay in declaring against the sectarian party gives advantage to the adversary to work their own designs; thirdly, delay to subscribe will give further ground of jealousy conceived by many in the country that they are but gaining time, and not single in their first profession; fourthly, they have already consulted the committee and the presbytery in that declaration as to points in conscience and duty, and now to waive it were to declare they have been but mocking; and, fifthly, if this be waived, there is no ground can be given for securing religion."

These efforts of the presbytery were crowned with success. The officers of the army and the gentlemen of the country signed their own declaration, which they called 'The Declaration of the army and the country;' and then entered upon the proposed conference with Monck at Belfast. The latter came prepared for defeating the design of the meeting. His first step was to deliver to the council a paper entitled 'Queries propounded by colonel Monck to the council of war at Belfast, April 9th, 1649,' (16) and to require their answer to each of them in writing before he would engage to take into consideration the declaration which they offered to him. These queries were:—"1. I desire to know what cause you have to distrust me for my faithfulnesse to the good cause you stand for? 2. Why do you grow upon me dayly by new propositions, and are not satisfied with these which the presbytery at first propounded, but assume an unlimited power to yourselves? 3. Why do you declare against that prevalent partie in England without order or advice from England, and thereby do in all appearance prejudge the good party oppressed there, by declaring yourselves sooner than they think it seasonable; and yet to suffer malignants in your quarters contrare to order? 4. I desire to know (in regard of our dependence upon England) whom it is that we shall serve for the present?"

To these ensnaring queries, proposed with the view of sowing dissension among his opponents, the council returned to Monck the following paper, entitled, "Answers given in by the counsell of war to colonell Monck his fore-mentioned queries.—To the first: Nothing can be inferred from our actions implying distrust of you or your faithfulnessse to the good cause, since we are willing and desirous yet to trust

16 These queries, with the 'Declaration of the army and country,' were soon after published in a small tract, entitled "The declaration of the British in the north of Ireland; with some queries of colonel Monk, and the answers of the British to the queries," 1649, 4to, pp. 6. It is from this pamphlet, now rare, that the queries and answers are printed in the text. The 'Declaration' is a long paper, and being of the same import with the answers it is unnecessary to insert it.

you. To the second: It cannot be thought strange that we have other propositions (besides the presbyteries) in regard of our different relation; neither do we conceive that adding to our just desire upon new emergencies, can be called an assumed unlimited power. To the third: Albeit when lawfull authority is suppressed, an order be impossible to be obtained; yet, as we are Christians, our duties to God and lawfull authority tyes us to declare against the publick enemies of our God, such as are now the prevalent partie in England, who have overturned authority from which we might have expected orders. And besides, the protestation of many members of both the houses of parliament, the protestation of the kingdom of Scotland, the Representation of the ministry, the apologetical declaration of many thousand citizens in and about the city of London, all against the present prevalent courses of the sectaries, may be unto us in place of a strong advise to joyne with them in declaring against them and disallowing of their proceedings. As also for malignants, you understand, as we conceive, only such who were engaged against England; none whereof are by us publickly owned, and if any be privately sheltered, when they are discovered, we shall take such course with them as shall be incumbent to us. To the fourth: As we have hitherto in relation to England served the king and parliament thereof, whose just power, rights, and priviledges we are deeply sworn to maintain and defend in our solemn league and covenant, so we resolve faithfully and constantly to serve and adhere unto them, though (now for a time) they be violently bereft of the exercise of their just and lawful power."

Together with this firm and well-timed reply the council of the army submitted five, and that of the country six, propositions of a similar import to those previously adopted by the presbytery; (17) and urged an immediate answer. But Monck dexterously evaded their request; begged a delay of a

17 These propositions from the army and the country are given in the pamphlet quoted in the preceding note.

week, which was afterwards extended to a month; and soon after, perceiving nearly all his officers and men opposed to his designs and determined to support the council and presbytery, he withdrew to his command at Dundalk; and on the eighth of May formed an alliance with Owen Roe O'Neill and the Irish, in order to drive Ormond from his position near Dublin. But, the royalists under lord Inchiquin having subsequently taken Dundalk, Monck retired to England, whence he never returned to Ireland. (18) At the same time that the council of officers were engaged in this fruitless negotiation with Monck, the presbytery at their meeting at Belfast on Tuesday the tenth of April drew up another public paper, entitled, 'A Vindication of the late and present proceedings of the presbytery; especially of their late Representation, &c.' in which they defended themselves against the charge of having revolted from their allegiance due to the government of England; and repeated their determination never to acknowledge or obey the usurpers of the lawful authority of the kingdom. "We have not been free," say the pres-

[18] On Friday, the tenth of August, Monck made his appearance before the parliament, and was censured by them for his union with O'Neill in the following vote:—"*Resolved*, &c. That this house doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of colonel Monck in the treaty and cessation made between him and Owen Roe O'Neill: And that the innocent blood which hath been shed in Ireland is so fresh in the memory of this house that this house doth detest and abhor the thoughts of any closeing with any party of popish rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding that blood: Nevertheless the house, being satisfied that what the said colonel Monck did therein was, in his apprehension, necessary for the preservation of the parliament of England's interest there, the house is content the further consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside; and shall not, any time hereafter, be called in question." Com. Journ. vi. 277. See also a pamphlet entitled, "The true state of the Transactions of colonel George Monck with Owen Roe Mac Art O'Neal; &c." Lond. 1649. Aug. 15. 4to. pp. 15. At the end of this pamphlet is a letter from the Scottish officers in Ulster to Monck, dated from Belfast, May 9, 1649, and signed by three of the persons whose names are given in note (15), and by the following—Uti Knox, James Shaw, Edward Ellis, John Edmonstone, William Hamilton, and James Clotworthy.

bytery in this Vindication, "from the malice of the evil-affected, whose chief principle being to be time-servers, have reproached us for our avowing steadfastness and pressing the same upon our flocks; and have fastened upon us such uneven designs as was furthest from our thoughts—that we intend nothing but a revolt from the lawful authority of England, and to decline the subjection of this kingdom thereunto. For removing all such groundless calumnies (though our former doctrine, Representation, and constant practice might have cleared us abundantly) we do yet profess, before God and the world, our constant resolutions to subject ourselves to the lawful authority of the righteous king and the free parliament of England, and to the lawful commands of such as shall have power from them: And we do acknowledge the interest they have in, and the power they have over, the subjects of this kingdom of Ireland; which, by the grace of God, we shall continue to witness in all our practices, and to teach the people under our charge to do the like. And we conceive there can be no better testimony of the reality of our profession than the disclaiming of the present usurped power of sectaries in England; which, against the laws both of God and man, and our solemn covenant, they have assumed to themselves, whom we are resolved never to obey as the lawful authority of England: And do thereby approve ourselves to be more loyal subjects to that crown than any who, overcome with the temptations of the times, change with every wind, and for fear of usurpers lay aside the prosecution of their duty to their lawful magistrates, contrary to their former vows and professions, and are now so inconsiderate as to return their own charge upon us." (19)

This paper the members of the presbytery read from their pulpits on the following sabbath; and to mark yet more decidedly their adherence to the king, who in the meantime had

[19] I have not been able to discover a complete copy of this VINDICATION. The paragraph given in the text is all that is preserved of it in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' (page 287); and I have not seen it mentioned elsewhere.

been formally proclaimed in the principal towns, (20) at the same meeting at which they drew up the preceding Vindication, they summoned before them the sovereign of Belfast, who had so far complied with the usurpers as to open his court without the customary mention of the king's name, and publickly censured him for this ill-timed omission. (21)

The council of the army, so soon as they signed and published their DECLARATION, proceeded to arm themselves and their regiments. They chose lord Montgomery of the Ards, to be their general, and took possession of Lisburn, now deserted by Monck. "Upon this occasion the lord of Ards, and those of his officers who had formerly been no good friends to the work of reformation, and now of late had in appearance joined heartily in the covenant, and emitted the former declaration for the ends of it; he with them got more room and opportunity to work their designs, which were to bring the army and country here under subjection to the marquess of Ormond, who was lord lieutenant in Ireland under the young king, and was carrying on the old design in Ireland which Montrose was intending and engaged to do in Scotland; all at this time by the king's commission. However, as yet their designs did not appear to be against the government. They were only proposing to the presbytery to send one of their number to the king, as they were about to send one from themselves to his majesty; that both might thus go together to propose the covenant and the espousing of the work of reformation to his majesty, according as the

[20] The ceremonial at the proclamation of Charles II. at Newtonards may be seen in the Montg. MSS. page 206.

[21] The following is a copy of the entry in the minutes of the presbytery, relative to this act of loyal discipline, as given in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' page 287, the original minutes having been long since lost: "April 10th, 1649, [printed by mistake 1646,] Compeared Mr. Forster sovereign of Belfast, and was rebuked for fencing (*i. e.* holding) the courts without mentioning of the king's name, contrary to the covenant; who promised to amend the same in time coming."

church and state of Scotland were about doing at the same time by sending commissioners to him. But the presbytery, as to their part, thought it not expedient to send any from them to the king." Montgomery, therefore, and the old royalist faction were ostensibly engaged on behalf of the covenant, and cordially united with the general body of the presbyterian soldiery in Down and Antrim. The garrisons of Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Coleraine, were occupied by these troops, and placed respectively under the command of colonel Wallace, major Ellis, and colonel Conway; and the Lagan forces, under Sir Alexander Stewart, were also prepared and ready to co-operate in the same cause. The republican party possessed no place of strength in Ulster save Derry, which was held by Sir Charles Coote, who had resisted the various efforts that had been made to induce him at this crisis to join the presbyterians. To this important post, therefore, the attention of the army and country was now directed.

"The council of war next sent commissioners from them to those who had renewed the covenant about Derry, viz. Cunningham, Maxwell, and Moore, advising them to draw their forces to the fields for the ends of the covenant; as they of Down and Antrim had done before. But Sir Charles Coote, notwithstanding he had been seemingly forward before for the presbytery, and had concurred with them, and was sworn a ruling elder in Derry, now finding things going in another channel in England, altogether refused to declare against that party in England, or to give order for renewing the covenant. Upon this, animosities arose between him and those of the army and country there, who had renewed the covenant and subscribed the same declaration which was subscribed in Down and Antrim by the council of war. And on this occasion the officers there, who had taken the covenant and declaration, had drawn together some other forces to the fields, according as they were advised by them. But Sir Charles sent out a party from Derry and Coleraine, and drew together a considerable number of persons at the

rendezvous near Derry. Upon which Sir Alexander Stewart marched towards Derry with his regiment, and sat down before it. Others, really affected, joined with him, so that the city was surprized and brought to straits."

In the latter end of March occurred the first hostile movement in this blockade, which, though it continued during nearly five months, has been almost forgotten, having been eclipsed by the second and more celebrated siege, which this 'maiden city' afterwards sustained. (22) On the twenty-eighth of that month the Lagan forces took possession of Manor-Cunningham and Carrigans, and cut off the supplies of the garrison from that quarter. On the first of April they drew towards the city; and two days afterwards surprised a convoy commanded by captain Kilmer, who were conveying thirty bolls of meal from Muff on the opposite side of the river. Kilmer fled, but on the seventh he and captain Finch were taken prisoners. The latter was exchanged for captain Lawson, whose gallant conduct at the breaking out of the rebellion has been already noticed, and who had now abandoned the republican authorities in Derry, and joined the presbyterians. Several unimportant, though not bloodless, skirmishes subsequently took place; but on the twenty-third of April, Coote, at the head of a large party of dragoons, sallied out and suddenly fell on the quarters of the Lagan forces at Carrigans, who suffered severely in this unexpected attack. Major Balfour and captain Mather with twenty men were slain; and lieutenant-colonel James Galbraith, majors

22 The subsequent notices in the text of this siege are taken from a rare pamphlet, entitled, "A True Relation of the twenty weeks' siege of Londonderry by the Scotch, Irish, and disaffected English, with the daily proceeding passages thereof: As also the number of men killed and taken prisoners on both sides. Related in two letters from captaine Henry Finch, one of the captains of Londonderry, and one of the aldermen of the city, to his friend in London." London, 1649, pp. 14. The first letter is dated June 15th, and the second August 15th, 1649. They contain a complete diary of the proceedings of the siege, which I regret my limits do not permit me to insert at length. A few extracts will be found in subsequent notes.

Hamilton and Grahame, captain John Stewart, with two lieutenants, two ensigns, and above forty men, were taken prisoners, and 'a good store of arms and plunder was brought home to the garrison.' Thirty of the prisoners were exchanged for the thirty bolls of meal taken by the presbyterians in the beginning of the month; and the remainder were reserved to be ransomed. (23)

Notwithstanding this advantage, Coote found it necessary to prepare for a closer siege. In the end of April he ordered the orchards and gardens surrounding the town to be cut down, and the houses and ditches to be levelled: and on the fifth of May the Lagan forces encamped round the city and threw up entrenchments within cannon-shot. On the twenty-sixth they were joined by Sir Robert Stewart and colonel Mervyn, (24) who had been liberated by the parliament on bail; and who, bringing with them numbers of the old royalist and prelatical faction, sowed dissension among the besiegers, by discountenancing those who were attached to

[23] This skirmish was thought to be of so much importance to the republican cause, that so soon as the account of it reached London it was printed in a small tract, entitled, "A bloody fight in Ireland, and a great victory obtained by Sir Charles Coote, lord president of Connaught, against the British forces of Lagan, &c." Lond. 1649, July 2, pp. 6. Towards the end it is stated—"The enemy have divided themselves thus; Sir Robert Stewart and colonel Mervyn with their two regiments, for the greatest part lie at a place called Fine [Fahan], to prevent the approach of Sir Charles Coote's Connaught forces in coming for his relief, who lie about Ballishannon.—Monro is now returned into the Lagan, for Sir Robert Stewart's assistance, with his regiments of Highlanders and Irish, whereof his strength consists; and these with their priests are to settle the protestant reformed religion, the ministry of this country being clapt up close prisoners by them."

[24] A few unimportant skirmishes had occurred before their arrival; one on the thirteenth of May on the strand beyond the gallows, where five of the besiegers were killed; and another on the fifteenth in the Bog-side, where six were killed and several taken prisoners. On the twenty-sixth, the convoy sent to Dublin for assistance captured a boat laden with barley and a small bark bound for Scotland with cows and horses; and about the same time, a ship arrived from England with five hundred quarters of wheat and a reinforcement of two hundred men, which enabled Coote to continue the siege without apprehension or risk of famine.

the covenant, and endeavouring to monopolize the management of the siege. This unhappy schism was widened by the arrival of Sir George Monro, who, forced to abandon Scotland, had returned to Ireland with a party of Scottish highlanders, and taken a commission from Ormond on behalf of Charles II. A body of the Irish confederates, whom the late peace had united with Ormond, were immediately placed under his command; and at the head of these auxiliaries and his own highlanders, all of them Roman Catholics and the terror of the country, he marched from Connaught to Derry, and introduced further jealousies among the besiegers.

"The old malignant party in the country," writes Adair, "pretending great affection to the cause, and submitting to the covenant and declaration, mixed in the leaguer, and became a stronger party there than the other commanded by Sir Alexander Stewart. According as the presbytery had, all those times, supplied the Lagan by commissioners of their own number upon their own charges one or two at a time; so the ministers who had, upon Sir Alexander's desire, been sent from the presbytery to join with the few ministers of Lagan in order to further the renewing of the covenant and entering into the declaration in that country, being invited to preach in the leaguer, did comply with the desire for a time, the rather to know how things were going on, and to understand the designs of that party. But a few days discovered to them that the malignant party carried all before them; and that they were generally profane and unconcerned for religion and the ends of the covenant. The ministers could not in duty but testify this in their preaching; whereupon, though for a little time they were seemingly entertained and consulted with, as the circumstances of that party called for in that juncture, yet within a very little time they were slighted and mocked by the new party who had joined. But Sir Alexander Stewart, with his party, still persisting in his respect for the ministers, put it to them for their advice what was best to be done by them. The ministers saw no grounds for him and his party to continue the leaguer, and so declared;

not from respect to Coote's party, but that they saw the old malignant interest carrying on. At this the ministers were yet more discountenanced by the other party; upon which they left off frequenting the leagure; and employed themselves in such places of the country as were destitute of ministers. Therefore divisions grew between the two parties in the league; and honest men being put on the hardest pieces of service, divers were killed, and all of them found it hard to continue the siege. Thereafter they acquainted the lord of Ards with their condition; who with his attendants went to Derry pretending to bring a right understanding between Coote and them. He was received into the town with civility and compliments and had communication with Coote; but no agreement followed. Therefore he returned that night to the leagure, where being at supper, and having drunk largely in the city, he became more free in his discourse in the audience of one of the ministers of Down, who came thither to take leave with some friends, saying,—'if Coote would engage for monarchical government in the person of the present king, the devil take him that meddles with religion; let God fight for his own religion himself!' And indeed, thereafter returning homeward, he in his actings proved the same man he thus professed himself to be. At this time George Monro was fast hastening from Ormond with a band of Irish papists who had lately been in rebellion, and joined in this siege of Derry. He brought a letter to Sir Robert Stewart, one of that party and an old malignant, who then used the ministers civilly, desiring him to lay hold on the persons of these ministers as the greatest enemies to their design. This letter being intercepted and presented to a meeting of the ministers, they found it their duty to be on their guard. Those of the Lagan lurked in the country, and those of the Claneboys returned home."

In the midst of these civil commotions the presbytery were occupied with an unhappy division among themselves, arising out of their faithful testimony against the murder of the king. The circumstances of this case are thus narrated by Adair.

"It is fit to remember a troublesome passage the presbytery had with two of their brethren lately admitted to the ministry, though not young in years; for whose settling, in opposition to the malignant party, the presbytery had before had great difficulty. (25) These were James Ker and Jeremiah O'Quin, by birth an Irishman; both of them men of great reputation for honesty and zeal, though of little learning and no great judgment. When the presbytery appointed renewing the covenant and reading the REPRESENTATION in February before, these brethren, not being then present at the presbytery, did decline to concur with their brethren in the representation. The next presbytery, hearing this, they questioned the brethren, and they pretending some reasons for their not reading the representation, the brethren did, divers times and at the meetings of several presbyteries, use all means to satisfy their scruples. But they still persisting in their opinion, and refusing to concur with their brethren in a duty so necessary at that time; and in discourse, finding they did not absolutely condemn the murder of the king, nor the courses of the sectarian party in England, but rather mitigating their practices and putting good construction upon them after they had overturned the foundations of government in church and state; the brethren, having waited long on them, at last passed a sentence of suspension on them, and appointed a brother to intimate it in their churches [at Ballymoney and Billy,] which was done. But they despised the sentence, and justified themselves to the people they conversed with; and therein by many they were believed, and the presbytery condemned and reflected on for severity and rashness. Upon this consideration, and also to inform the commission of the church in Scotland of the proceedings of the presbytery in their late actings, the presbytery sent over Mr. Thomas Hall to the commission of the church. The suspended brethren had now, after this, divers applications to the presbytery for opening their mouths; but, having no

[25] See chapter xii. page 126, *antea*.

sense of their wrong, they were rejected. Yet, when these men had run their course for a time, and concurred a while with the sectaries, after their brethren were lying under their persecution, they at length, having discovered the course that party followed, and that they aimed at temporal dominion rather than religion, and that when they came to the country the greatest malignants were greatest with them, because they could flatter and comply, and that the truly godly, who could not justify their proceedings, were exposed to their hatred, contempt and persecution, did three years afterwards return to the rest and acknowledge their errors, both before the brethren, and, as they had occasion, also before the officers or governors of the sectarian party in this country. (26)

[26] The independent and republican party, of course, sympathised with these suspended ministers, and declaimed loudly against the conduct of the presbytery as tyrannical and popish. The several documents connected with the case were afterwards published by them in London, with the view, as is stated in the preface, of showing "the pitiful slavery they lie under where a presbytery is established." Their pamphlet was entitled, "News from Ireland concerning the proceedings of the presbytery in the county of Antrim, in Ireland, in several sittings in that county against Mr. James Ker and Mr. Jeremy O'Queen, two of their fellow-ministers of the same presbytery; for their refusing to read that treasonable representation which was by the said presbytery then at Belfast commanded to be read publickly by all their ministers in February 1649. Published for the undeceiving of those who (not knowing what they would desire) would have presbytery established by law in this commonwealth. Printed from the relation made thereof by Mr. James Ker, and by him delivered to colonel Venables, commander-in-chief of the forces of the commonwealth of England in the counties of Down and Antrim." London, 4to. July 9, 1650, pp. 38. This very rare and curious pamphlet contains a copy of the presbytery's Representation; together with the following documents, which would otherwise have been irrecoverably lost. 1. Objections given in by Messrs. Ker and O'Quin to the presbytery sitting at Carrickfergus, May 3, 1649. 2. The presbytery's observations upon and answers unto these objections. 3. Messrs. Ker and O'Quin's reply to the presbytery's observations. 4. Mr. Ker's answer to a letter sent him from a friend in Scotland, dated July 13. 5. Mr. Ker's letter to the commissioners of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, dated from Ballymoney, September 15, 1649. 6. Petition from the congregation of Ballymoney, praying the presbytery to restore Mr. Ker. 7. The confes-

"But to return," continues Adair, "to the account of the

sion subscribed by Mr. Ker before the presbytery sitting at Bangor. I subjoin the first of these documents, that the reader may see the nature of the objections which induced those two brethren so obstinately to oppose the presbytery. Instead of grappling with the main question of the king's execution, and the overthrow of the monarchy, they had only a few frivolous cavils to urge against the wording of the Representation.

"Objections given in by the under subscribers to the Rev. Moderator and remanent brethren of the presbytery sitting at Carrickfergus, May 3, 1649; which objections occasioned the not reading of the Representation.

"1. In general, many of the assertions therein contained seem to us to be exceeding more hask than beseemeth us, being in number few, young men, and far from true intelligence. 2. Although we cannot say (as we are informed) that the late and present actings of the army in England are without great hazard to religion and liberties, yet we doubt whether we may truly say 'that they love to wear a rough garment to deceive,' as is asserted in the Representation. 3. And forasmuch as we have, neither in writ nor print, seen any public thing set forth by the army wherein they call the covenant 'a bundle of particular and contrary interests,' and 'a snare to the people,' therefore we desire the truth of that assertion to be proved. 4. We desire the truth of that made more manifest, viz. that the army is labouring to establish by a law an universal toleration of all religions without exception, yea, even Paganism and Judaism. 5. If we should read the Representation, we conceive ourselves unable to prove that point which affirms many of the chiefest of the army to be perjured. 6. Neither do we as yet know, that the said army doth despitefully blaspheme presbyterial government, and call it and the assertors thereof 'antichristian and popish.' 7. It is a question to us whether these members that were removed were the 'most worthy members' of the honourable House of Commons. 8. Although it is affirmed that the removing of these members is an action unparalleled in any age, yet the truth of it is doubtful to us. 9. We cannot affirm that the king was tried by private men, and with cruel hands put to death, because it is a civil question beyond our capacity, which we conceive might abide a dispute in the three kingdoms before it be absolutely determined, as it is now asserted in the Representation. 10. We could wish that the word 'just hatred' to sectaries were expressed 'just hatred to their evil courses.'

"Mr. James Ker,
"Mr. Jeremy O'Quin."

I am sorry my limits do not warrant my inserting the satisfactory answer of the presbytery to these cavils. I shall only add, that the commission of the general assembly approved of the whole of the proceedings of the presbytery in this case. MS. Min. of Com. of Gen. Ass. For the restoration of the two ministers to communion, see chapter xv. *postea*.

party now carrying on their designs against the covenant with greater boldness. George Monro, leaving the siege of Derry, advanced and surprised Coleraine with his band of Irish [on the seventh of June]. Meantime the lord of Ards, having from the beginning of this late rebellion had intercourse with Ormond, and had received a commission from him by order of the king, to command in chief the forces in Ulster, carried on his correspondence with George Monro in private, and endeavoured to engage the lord Conway to his party; assuring him he would in due time suppress the ministers and discard such officers as were not fit for their purpose. This was made known to the presbytery, and my lord questioned on it; but he denied it all. At this time, also, when the country was alarmed by George Monro and his Irishmen coming over the river Bann, and he making open profession of his intentions, some gentlemen in the country, with the advice of ministers in the county of Antrim, resolved to meet him, with the assistance of some soldiers under the command of major Clotworthy and major Ellis, and some of Glencairn's regiment, not thinking, all this time, of his correspondence with the lord of Ards and his faction. They went as far as Clough, beyond Ballymena; but the soldiers being few, and the country utterly unarmed and untrained, and divers gentlemen there being altogether unwilling to engage; besides that, there were some in the company who were set on to weaken the hands of the rest from engaging. And so the wiser sort, seeing nothing but confusion likely to ensue upon this business, some of their number were sent to Monro to know what he would be at. He told them he designed nothing but the restoring of lawful authority, and the opposing of sectaries; and that he would molest none who opposed not him, or were known enemies to it, or friends to the sectaries. Upon the confidence of this, it was resolved by the officers and country gentlemen to return home, which they did.

"The presbytery now began to be more jealous of the late reformers, and particularly of the lord of Ards. Therefore they appointed a committee to meet frequently at Belfast to

observe their motions; that being the place where country gentlemen and officers then most haunted. The lord of Ards, not finding it convenient as yet to discover himself, proposed to the committee that the country should subscribe the former declaration. The committee, being jealous of his sinistrous designs, waived it at this time; and in the mean time desired a further explication of that clause in it concerning their declining Ormond. To this they had words given them which might have been sufficient for men resolved to stand by their professions. But while this is doing, Monro was secretly commanded to come to Belfast and threaten to take it; the design of the lord of Ards being to have colonel Wallace out of it, who had been appointed governor of it by the council of war to please the presbytery. Monro accordingly hastened to it, and threatened to fire the town. It was found not well enough manned and furnished to resist; upon which the lord of Ards, with common advice, sent for a considerable party from his own regiment [at Comber] to assist the Belfast garrison against Monro; and the gentlemen and ministers were ordered to go home from the hazard of the enemy. Thus Ards's men entered publicly the town [on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of June]; where having secured himself, he then declared indeed what he was, produced his commission from the king, and discharged Wallace of his trust.

"This treachery of the lord of Ards was an astonishing surprisal to the ministers and country, who formerly had concurred with him. They knew not where they were, nor what course to take. Mr. Anthony Shaw, then minister of Belfast, did with great zeal and ministerial authority upbraid the lord of Ards before his officers, for his strange dealing; shewed how inconsistent he was with his former professions; and that ere long the righteous God, who hates falsehood of any kind, and in a special manner the betraying the truth and cause of God, would be avenged of him and his house. But my lord put all off by smooth pretences as yet; and told them he intended no hurt to the ministry or good people; and that, if they would comply with the government, they should find him a

friend. But the ministers then, though young in years, had so much experience of men's falsehood that they knew it was folly to lean to fair words."

Accordingly, two days after this astounding discovery of the deliberate perfidy of a nobleman who, during the last six years, had enjoyed their entire confidence; who had shared their deepest sympathy in his captivity, and owed his liberty in a great measure to their generous interference; and who had hitherto cordially concurred in all their measures; the presbytery, being met at Carrickfergus still garrisoned by their friends, wrote to lord Montgomery the following severe but faithful letter:—

"Right honourable,

"The present strange alteration of affairs moves us to write our mind freely to your lordship; especially since, as it appears now clearly, you have been the chief author of all these calamities. We would first put your lordship in mind of the hazard you were in, before the covenant was renewed, and how you complied with us then; for your own safety, with solemnity and forwardness you renewed the covenant. You yourself first moved and framed a declaration in opposition to malignant courses, and all the present enemies of the cause of God. In the propositions to be offered to the king, you agreed that those concerning religion should be first offered; and if these were not granted, no other should be presented. Your declaration also bears a very large profession, both in general that you would do nothing in reference to religion without our consent and advice, and that lest God should leave you to fall in error; and particularly that you would acknowledge the king's demands, when he should give satisfaction in securing religion, before he were admitted to the exercise of his royal power. You all along shewed yourself ready to subscribe all orders against malignants; and so, by ample professions, engaged us the more deeply to give credit to your declarations and trust your faithfulness. Yet, nevertheless, your lordship hath had secret dealing to bring in malignants, and had correspondence with them; and all this

time hath been dealing subtilly in your heart, professing one thing and intending another :—which has been a most notorious deceit to ensnare the people of God, and to advance your most sinister ends. Who could have believed that your lordship would have avowed a commission from the king, when he yet refuses, as much as his father, to secure religion, but follows wicked counsel ; and so would have avowedly violated that article of your declaration ? Or that you would own a wicked association of Irish papists, and under colour of strengthening, should have betrayed, that garrison of Belfast ? We must be faithful in warning your lordship, though the Lord knows what heaviness it is to us, that the Lord will reward you, if you repent not for such a betraying of the faithful servants of God who would have plucked out their eyes for you ; and the Lord will visit your family with sudden ruin and irreparable desolation, for that you have been so grand an instrument to destroy the work of God here. We exhort your lordship, in the name of the living God, to whom you must give an account, in haste to forsake that infamous and ungodly course you are now in, and adhere to your former professions ; otherwise all the calamities that will ensue will be laid on your score. The Lord himself and all the faithful will set themselves against you ; and we will testify of your unfaithfulness to the world, so long as the Lord shall give us strength. We shall yet continue to pray for your lordship's conversion, and shall expect your answer, remaining

" Your lordship's servants in all duty,

" THE MINISTERS OF THE PRESBYTERY.

" At Carrickfergus, June 29, 1649."

His lordship lost no time in replying to this unwelcome but well-merited exposure of his treachery. On the very next day, which was Saturday, and while his forces were compelling captain Francis Ellis to surrender into his hands the town of Antrim, he addressed to the presbytery the following letter, in which his falsehood and dissimulation still more clearly appear :—

" Reverend Friends,

" I cannot but with unexpressible grief resent the bitter

expressions and ill-grounded wrong aspersions you are pleased to cast upon me in your letter, as if I had secretly brought in Sir George Monro his party into this country, and so have been the chief author of all these present distractions; whereof, God the searcher of hearts is my witness, I am free, notwithstanding of the jealousies raised upon some expressions in that letter of Sir George Monro to Sir Robert Stewart which was intercepted; and that among other many prevalent reasons and motions, too long here to express, inducing at this time to own his majesty's commission, it was not the betraying but the securing of these garrisons from Sir George his party, which, in our distracted and disjointed condition, for want of authority, and by reason of the soldiers' affection to their former officers, were likely to be rendered to him. The Lord he knows that the preservation of the established church-government, your peace, the good and quiet of this poor corner, and the advancement of religion according to the covenant (all which, by private underminers, to your own knowledge, were in apparent hazard of ruin,) are the chief reasons which induce me of this course of making use of that authority as the only means to secure us, being so united under command, from the violence of opposers hereunto. I request you, therefore, and until my carriage, after that now I am clothed with authority, may witness whether my intentions and resolutions be not according to my profession, you would be pleased to have more charitable thoughts of me; and rest assured that I am,

"Your affectionate faithful friend and servant,

"Belfast, June 30, 1649. MONTGOMERY."

The manifest insincerity of this letter induced the presbytery once more to address his lordship in vindication of their former statements. Without loss of time, they drew up on Monday this second letter, which closed their correspondence.

"Right honourable,

"We received yours, wherein you with grief resent our bitter expressions and ill-grounded wrong aspersions, as much

as to call them false, which you say we cast upon your lordship. Truly our expressions flow from the bitterness of grief and sorrow, and not disaffection towards you. You have often known our abundant affections and endeavour to serve your lordship in our stations. These which your lordship calls wrong aspersions are the words of truth and soberness. Intercepted letters from that party, together with colonel Conway's discovery of that which is now clear, with many other circumstances of your lordship's latter carriage, and the exact correspondence between colonel Monro's motions and yours, do evince the reality of our assertions; as well as his own letter, which we believe spake neither affection [affectation] nor a conjecture of your lordship's design, being written to such a close friend. It is a sad jest to your lordship to tell us that it was the securing of these garrisons from colonel George Monro that moved you to put on that commission; whereas by the conjunction of your lordship's forces and command, he lies before this garrison to destroy it. It were a good proof of the reality of your purpose if you should, with your whole power, urge him to remove; which, if you were cordial in, were easy to do. Neither know we how to believe that your lordship's present course is intended for the good of religion and the covenant, when you are not only associated with the enemies of both, but your commission, as we are informed, subjects you to the immediate commands of the marquess of Ormond, whose infamous and irreligious peace made with the rebels may easily tell us what establishment of the covenant or presbyterial government we may expect from his orders and authority. His own printed speech to the council of Kilkenny explains to us his real resolutions concerning religion—'To maintain the Christian religion in the large extent, and not under a strict notion of new invented names.' And besides, the king yet refusing to secure religion, how shall you establish it, except you do very far transgress the limits of your commission, which we believe you desire no man to think? In a word, your lordship hath but reassumed the old quarrel which the engagers

the last year, and, before them, James Grahame [marquess of Montrose] and the malignants in England, were of old pursuing: Neither, we are confident, will it prosper better in your hands nor it did in theirs. The Lord in justice hath declared his displeasure against that course; and will do so against all them who seek to advance the king against Christ's throne, and even while he refuses to give Christ his due first. We would therefore, yet again, as lovers of the standing of Christ's kingdom, and of your lordship's salvation, and as the messengers of God, beseech your lordship, before you run a further hazard of the Lord's wrath, to leave off that ungodly course, and take better means to effectuate the good of religion. Remember, those who honour God he will honour, and those who despise him shall be lightly esteemed of. Whereas your lordship desires our charity towards you, truly as we have ever testified a due respect to yourself and family, we shall yet continue. But you have involved yourself already so far in the guilt of unfaithfulness to the cause of God and your own subscriptions, that we cannot but testify against the course you are in, and denounce judgment upon your person, family, and all your party, till the Lord persuade your heart to return; which shall be our fervent desire, and shall remain,

"Your lordship's servants in all dutiful observance,

"THE MINISTERS OF THE PRESBYTERY. (27)

"At Carrickfergus, 2d of July, 1649."

27 I have copied these letters from another rare and curious little tract which the independent party, ever on the alert to expose and vilify the proceedings of the presbyterians, published in London with this singular title: "The Complaint of the Boutefeu scorched in his own kindlings, or the backslider filled with his own ways: In two Letters of the Ministers of the Presbytery at Carrickfergus to the Lord of Ards, now in rebellion in Ulster in Ireland against the Commonwealth of England; with his answer to the first of those letters. Together with some animadversions upon the said letters. Published by authority." London, 4to. 1649, pp. 14. In these animadversions it is justly observed, that the presbyterians were not a very clear-sighted party in believing that Charles II. would cordially maintain

The receipt of this letter, evincing the unyielding steadfastness of the presbytery, quickened Montgomery in the execution of his designs. Instead of directing the Scottish commander to retire from Carrickfergus, as the ministers suggested, he sent orders, on the very same day on which he received their reply, authorizing Monro to demand immediate possession of the town and castle, held since the departure of Monck by the presbyterian forces under major Edmund Ellis, "a worthy and religious gentleman." On the following day Montgomery joined Monro before the town; when the garrison, finding themselves wholly unprepared to oppose this sudden attack and from so unexpected a quarter, agreed to surrender it upon favourable terms, which were immediately accepted and ratified. (28) Accordingly, on the fourth of July, the possession of the town and castle was transferred to the royalist party; and the notorious Dalzell of Binns, who had been formerly quartered there as an officer of general Robert Monro's regiment, was appointed governor. "He continued there, with a crew who followed him, by the lord of Ards's command, for a short time, being a terror to the country about, and exacting from

the covenant; "for he that could see but as far as a bat at noon, may very well judge that Charles Stuart loves the covenant, as well as a Scotch priest loves a bishop!" It is also stated that when Monro, with his brigade of Irish, sat down before Carrickfergus, the presbytery "asked him whether he would take the covenant or not? to whom he replied, 'the Devil take the covenant and you too!'"

28 These terms of capitulation are given at length in the Appendix to the last edition of M'Skimin's History of Carrickfergus, pp. 379, 380, under the title of "Articles agreed and concluded by and between the right honourable Hugh lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes on the one part, for and in the behalf of all parts of the army within the province of Ulster, that either are, or hereafter shall be, joined under his command; and major Ellis, governor of Carrickfergus, major Cochran, governor of the castle, and the rest of the officers within the said town and castle, together with the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, burgesses and commons, of the other part; the fourth day of July, 1649." They are signed by Edmund Ellis, Brice Cochran, Henry Clements, Robert Hannay, Edward Ferguson, and Samuel Stewart.

them what he thought meet." The presbyterian ministers fled to the county of Down; whither Mr. John Greg, minister of Carrickfergus, and Mr. Robert Cunningham, minister of the adjoining parish at Broadisland, retired upon the surrender of the town. Though their safety was guaranteed by the articles of capitulation, they had too sad experience of the insincerity of the prelatical party, to trust themselves to the insufficient security of even their most solemn engagements. It was well they and others took the precaution to withdraw; for Ormond soon after sent 'Instructions' to their implacable enemy, Dalzell, of which the following is one that he would not have hesitated to execute with the utmost rigour:—"And if any ecclesiastical person shall presume to intermeddle, in pulpit or consistory, with the managery of civil affairs; or shall teach that his majesty is not to be admitted to the possession of his crown until he hath given satisfaction to his subjects, or until he have taken such oaths and covenants as are imposed upon him; upon proof thereof, without further circumstance, let his estate be confiscated to the use of the army, and himself be either imprisoned or banished, or tried for his life, as the enemy shall deserve." (29)

On the same day on which lord Montgomery obtained possession of that important post, Carrickfergus, he published in his new office, as "commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in the province of Ulster, a long DECLARATION," with the view of vindicating himself from the charges of tergiversation and perfidy to which he had so obviously exposed himself, and of persuading the presbyterians, whom he had so long cajoled and so shamefully betrayed, to submit to his authority. To forward this latter object, he induced lord Inchiquin, next in command to Ormond and at this time engaged in the siege of Drogheda, to write to the presbytery, assuring them that 'Charles II. was resolved for their satis-

[29] Abridged from Borlase, p. 216. These "Instructions" do not bear any particular address; but they were evidently designed for colonel Dalzell, at Carrickfergus. See Inst. No. 6.

faction to establish the presbyterian government in Ulster;' and earnestly entreating them to join with the royalists in upholding his majesty's cause. But the presbytery were not now to be deceived, either by the illusory promises of Inchiquin, or the insincere and confident declaration of Montgomery. They met at Bangor, on the Saturday after the surrender of Carrickfergus; and having written a respectful letter to the former nobleman, explanatory of their proceedings, they drew up another elaborate paper in answer to the latter. It is entitled, "A DECLARATION BY THE PRESBYTERY AT BANGOR, the seventh of July, 1649."(30) Like their other public documents, it was read from all their pulpits, "though with some opposition in some congregations where malignant officers were present; yet no violence was done to the ministers."

This DECLARATION is too long to be inserted here; and

30 This DECLARATION was republished in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when the tories were rampant in both kingdoms, and severely commented on by the Rev. Dr. Tisdall, vicar of Belfast, the coryphæus of the northern high-church men, with the view of proving that the Irish presbyterians had, in it, so absolutely renounced monarchical principles, and so clearly exhibited their disloyalty and disaffection, as to be well worthy of that exclusion from office which had recently been effected by the passing of the test act, in 1703. His pamphlet was published anonymously, with this ironical title:—"A Sample of true-blew Presbyterian Loyalty in all changes and turns of government: To which is added a Declaration of the Presbytery at Bangor, Anno 1649." Dublin, 1709, 4to. pp. 31. The Rev. R. Macbride, of Belfast, replied to it in another anonymous pamphlet, which he appositely entitled—"A sample of Jet-black Prelatic Calumny, &c. &c. To which is added an Apology for the Declaration of the Presbytery at Bangor." Glasgow, 1713, pp. 218. Tisdall followed up his attack on the Ulster presbyterians by a second pamphlet, more virulent and calumnious than the former one, under the title of "The conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland, with respect both to Church and State." Dublin, 1712, 4to. pp. 104. These most intolerant and mischievous tracts occasioned the publication of the well-known volume, entitled—"An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Reformation to this present year 1713." 4to. pp. 564. It was published anonymously, but its author was the Rev. J. Kirkpatrick, another of the ministers of Belfast. It is quoted in this work under the running title of "Presbyterian Loyalty."

being directed almost exclusively to the refutation of Montgomery's declaration, it possesses little public interest. A few paragraphs, however, may be given, as exhibiting the reasons which induced the presbytery to take this step, and the course which they exhorted their people to adopt in this difficult crisis. It thus commences: "As we have, upon every remarkable change of affairs in this land, from our watch-tower blown the trumpet unto the people, by setting before them the true state of their own condition, and giving them warning of their own duty in these dark and troublesome times; so a greater mystery of iniquity being now discovered than was ever before, and of greater danger to the people of God than any former design which has been known among us, we cannot forbear to cry aloud to our flocks to beware of ravenous wolves who have risen to devour them. The danger we were in by sectaries we have formerly represented at large, and have sufficiently vindicated our actions relating to them. The late unexpected invasion of malignants we have faithfully informed our people of, and pressed upon them their duty of opposing the same. And now it hath pleased the Lord to suffer men among ourselves to be our enemies; those who took sweet counsel together with us, renewed the covenant, and entered into a solemn declaration, do now lift up themselves against us, and, under a pretence of delivering us, have indeed been the principal instruments to ruin us, and the work of God among us, if the Lord restrain them not from accomplishing their whole design. The chief head of those who pretend authority above the rest is the lord viscount of Ards, whose present actions are so repugnant to his former professions, that no Christian or ingenuous man can think upon them without horror and detestation. His forwardness to renew the covenant, his fervency to have a solemn band and declaration subscribed and entered into, his large promises to defend religion, his disclaiming all conjunction with papists or rebels with words of zeal and disdain, his insinuations upon all honest men for gaining them to him, his consenting to all public orders

against malignants,—being compared with his late undertakings, must clearly present to every man's view the great dissimulation and betraying of the people and covenant he is guilty of; for which our sorrow and grief is no less than our rejoicing had been great to have seen his lordship stand faithful, which was one of our chiefest desires." After proving that the cause now supported by Ormond and Montgomery was identical with that so obstinately maintained by the late king against the long parliament, and that their own proceedings were in exact accordance with the principles which guided the patriots of the preceding reign in opposing the illegal and arbitrary exercise of the prerogative, in matters both of religion and government, they conclude with the following exhortation: "For this cause, as the embassadors of Christ, we beseech our people, in his stead, not to join hands in such a course, or to meddle with them who are given to change. And particularly we charge all who have renewed the covenant, and have entered into the declaration of the army and country, not to join in executing such a commission by taking charge in the army under the present command, or serving them either as officers or soldiers; else we foretell them, in the name of the God of truth, that the quarrel of the covenant shall pursue them, and they shall wring out the dregs of the cup which malignants have been drinking these many years by-past. Yea, their judgments shall be enlarged far above the former; because they have both seen the other's plagues, and have of late renewed the covenant which malignants oppose. We do also, in the name of Jesus Christ, warn the people of our charge to keep themselves free from all compliance with their ungodly course, either by speaking favourably of them, acknowledging the authority of the present command under the marquis of Ormond and the lord of Ards, by imposing of cess upon others for maintaining their unlawful power, or by constant obeying their orders in paying of cess unto their army; all which is sinful compliance, and a breach of the covenant, as well as to fight in their quarrel; for it is a promoting of their course, though not by arms, yet

by supplying the sinews of war, money and victuals. Neither can any necessity be excuse to it, for we ought to choose affliction rather than sin. To help the ungodly, and to strengthen the hands of the wicked, is an evil worse than any suffering. There are none in this land who formerly suffered for righteousness' sake, who need this day to repent it, and for whom the Lord provided not abundantly in their greatest want. And, therefore, we do again exhort them to stand fast to the covenant, that neither persuasion nor terror may withdraw them from the truth which is now opposed; but that they lament for former sins which bring on these calamities, turn in to the Lord and embrace the Gospel, and to rejoice in the cross of Christ; and when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord, their sins shall be blotted out, and the Lord shall return their captivity like the streams of the south."

To this Declaration Montgomery did not venture to reply; but he sent one of his officers to the presbytery, when met the following week, to accuse them of treason, and threaten them with imprisonment. The conduct of the ministers, on this occasion, is thus narrated by one of their number: "The presbytery, after they had been accused by the lord Ards, in a message by one of his officers, viz. Hugh Montgomery, of mutiny, treason, and sedition, in face of the presbytery; and after they had sent some of their number to discourse with him of his proceedings; and these receiving no satisfaction, but were partly mocked, partly threatened, though not without some exhortations of peace, and promises to give the civil sanction to the presbytery by virtue of his commission from the king, if they would not oppose the present course; the lord of Ards was ordered to be summoned to the presbytery as one who had owned himself of their number and under their jurisdiction, but now fallen from his former professions, and become guilty of a fearful breach of covenant, &c. This summons they knew he would undervalue; and accordingly he inquired of the person summoning him, by what authority he did so? Yet the presbytery judged it their duty, in this

case, to own the authority Christ had put into their hands. And indeed the Lord so ordered matters that for a little time they were not troubled; the lord Ards not judging it fit for his design at this time. In the mean time, however, while the country and presbytery were in confusion, they go on with the admission of Mr. Henry Maine and Mr. William Richardson in a more private way, as the times would admit; the former was settled minister at Isle-Magee, and the latter at Killileagh.(31) The presbytery also received an encouraging letter from the ministers in Edinburgh.

"The lord Ards, seeing he could not prevail with ministers to be silent from testifying against his course, or from the exercise of jurisdiction, he summoned the ruling elders to appear before him, that he might threaten them from joining with the ministers: but the elders by advice withdrew themselves. And George Munro directed a letter by way of summons to some of the brethren, as then commissioned by the lord lieutenant Ormond, to compear before him at Coleraine; with certification that if they did not he would pursue them, telling them that he was informed their preaching tended to the prejudice of the king's interest; and that if they would undertake not to meddle in state affairs, nor to encroach on the magistrate's power, they should have countenance from him. Upon consideration of the threatenings of a prevailing party, now become enemies, in the country, and assisted with Irish rebels; and of some ministers already being violently hindered to preach in their own pulpits; and there being an information gone up to Ormond against the ministers, desiring he would use some violent course with them for restraining them; and furthermore, that ministers could not preach freely against the present enemies without apparent violence; they resolved unanimously that brethren finding themselves in apparent hazard, and not in a capacity

31 A short time afterwards the Rev. Fergus Alexander was ordained to the pastoral charge of Grey-abbey, in Down; and the Rev. Andrew Stewart, son of the Rev. Mr. Stewart of Donegore, whose death is recorded in the former volume, (p. 180—2) was ordained to that of Donaghadee in the same county.

to exercise their ministry, may withdraw for a time, till God give an open door again. Meantime they had a letter from the General Assembly of Scotland by their commissioner Mr. A. Ferguson. (32) But the storm growing more violent, some of the ministers, partly to shun present hazard, partly having some other occasions, did retire a little to Scotland. But having discoursed with worthy and experienced ministers there, and being advised by them, did presently return. Others, however, staid in the country at that time."

This inauspicious domination of the royalist party in Ulster was of short duration; but their downfall brought little relief to the presbyterians. After the surrender of Carrickfergus Monro returned to Coleraine, of which he was appointed governor; and thence marched to Derry, where on the eleventh of July he again joined the besiegers with a considerable reinforcement of horse and foot, and twelve pieces of field-ordnance. (33) The blockade which had in

32 This meeting of the general assembly—memorable as the last which sat till after the Revolution—was opened on the seventh of July, and closed on the sixth of August. Balfour, under the date of the eleventh of July, says, "Mr. Ferguson, a minister, returned to Ireland this day," (Annals, iii. 415,) which corroborates Adair. Yet Baillie, in his account of the proceedings of this assembly, says,—"Our brethren of Ireland had sent Mr. John Greg to us to have our advice about their carriage in my lord of Ards defection. No public advice was given; but Mr. Livingston and Mr. M'Clelland were appointed to confer with him on all his propositions." Letters ii. 343. It is probable Mr. Ferguson had been appointed their usual commissioner to the assembly and had proceeded to Scotland, before Montgomery's treachery had been discovered; and that thereafter Mr. Greg, being obliged at all events to fly from Carrickfergus, had been specially sent over for advice, and had arrived before the close of the assembly. The only notices extant of the proceedings of this assembly in relation to Ireland are the following entries in the index to the printed acts:—"Sess. 3. Recommend business of Ireland to the committee for public business. Sess. 5. Letter to the brethren of the presbyterie of Carrickfergus. Sess. 37. Letter to their brethren in Ireland."

33 The following is an abstract of the proceedings of the siege during the month of June. "*June 1st.* All our horse [from the city], with 150 foot, went over the water to Goldsmith's new town and routed the enemy [the presbyterian forces], killed about thirty, took a prey of 300 cows, many sheep and

the meantime been maintained with considerable success, was now carried on with additional vigour; this being the only strong-hold in Ulster that held out against the royalists. To cut off the communication with the city by sea, they built a fort at the knock of Ember, (34) near the narrowest part of the river between Culmore castle and the town, to which, in honour of his majesty, they gave the name of Charles-fort. No sooner was it completed than Coote directed captain Keyser, the commander of a parliamentary frigate in the Lough, (35) to proceed with an hundred musketeers in boats to attack and demolish it; but the fort being well manned, and mounted with eleven pieces of ordnance, they were repulsed and obliged to return to Culmore. Keyser and his

some horses, and fired and killed to the Mough [Muff] without loss. *3rd.* The cows being too many to keep for eating up our grass and not fit to kill, so many as were not useful were sold to the enemy for ten shillings a piece upon parole and were currently paid. *8th.* The enemy in one night built an incredible piece of work, within almost musket shot of our town, upon the top of the hill on the way to Ballymackrooty; the lord president [Coote] destroyed it next day after a sharp skirmish, and challenged the leaguer to come out and fight him. *13th.* A new fort, which we were a building at the Windmill, was near finished; but was thrown down by the enemy this night: the wind being high, he was not discovered till done. *18th.* Whitecastle plundered by some of our men, and the sea-men got some malt, barley, meal, &c. *19th.* The Scotch boat that had been taken with the cows and horses was manned out, and this day brought in two other small Scotch boats from Coleraine for Scotland laden with staves, clobords [?] rounds [coarse meal], and some butter." Captain Finch, the writer of the diary, here observes :—"After three months' siege there is not one sick or feeble body among us, and now in a better condition than the first day of the siege: our greatest want is and will be firing, there being no other firing than old houses and trees got out of orchards; for we suppose provisions will be plentifully sent us by the parliament."

34 The place which is thus designated in the Diary of the siege, quoted in the preceding note, is called, in old maps, "The Crook of Inver," being the bay or reach in the river west of the place where the boom was laid during the second siege. See Map in Harris's William III. Charles-fort was situated near Boom-hall, and was occupied by James's army in 1689.

35 In the following March I find Captain Thomas Keyser commander of the Leopard's Whelp, *alias* the Thomas. Comm. Journ. vi. 375.

crew, who had captured several vessels bound for Scotland from Coleraine and other neighbouring ports, were supported almost entirely by the plunder of Ennishowen; into which district parties of horse were also occasionally sent by Coote, to levy contributions in meal and cattle for the support of his garrison. On the twenty-sixth of July lord Montgomery, with his own regiment and a considerable force, joined the besiegers; and having sent Coote a copy of his commission from Charles II. he summoned him to surrender the city to his majesty's army. This ineffectual summons was followed up on the twenty-eighth by a smart attack upon the town; in which, though several of the garrison were killed, Montgomery was repulsed with considerable loss; lieutenant-colonel Robert Galbraith being dangerously wounded, and captain Fleming of Faughanvale, lieutenant M'Clelland, with several officers and nearly forty men, being killed. On the same day two ships from below Culmore came up the river to attack Charles-fort; but the wind failing them, another singular coincidence with the events of the second siege, they were unable either to proceed or to return.

The presbytery's Declaration had, by this time, reached the Lagan, and began to be privately circulated among the presbyterian soldiery, as yet unacquainted with the perfidy of their general. No sooner did they read this paper, and perceive the true character of the cause for which they were hazarding their lives, than the greater number of the officers of the Lagan forces, and of lord Montgomery's regiments, threw up their commissions, and with their men abandoned the siege. "Our viscount and general," writes the indignant compiler of the Montgomery Manuscripts, "was hopefull to reduce that important place to his majesties obedience. The fault was not in his lordship, but in those Lagan men; who no sooner knew of his lordship having accepted a commission from the king without their kirk-pastors' leave, and that he would no longer admit their ministers into his councils, nor walk by their advice, than the whole gang or crew of them deserted the siege and his lordship, they all at

once disbanding themselves with one text of scripture, 'to your tents, O Israel!'" (36) On the twenty-ninth of July, the soldiers were observed from the city to be taking their departure in great haste and in considerable numbers. The siege, however, was still maintained, though with diminished vigour. A few days afterwards, a party of dragoons from the city sallied out into the county of Donegal, and burned Carrigans, Newton-Cunningham and St. Johnston. But on the seventh of August, to the great surprise and dismay of the besiegers—who did not expect to see the Roman Catholic party leagued with the republicans in opposing the royalists—Owen Roe O'Neill, upon a treaty privately concluded with Coote, came to the relief of Derry, and with a body of three hundred horse and four thousand foot encamped on the opposite side of the river. (37) Lord Montgomery and Sir Robert Stewart were consequently compelled to raise the siege. On the second day after O'Neill's arrival they broke up their

[36] Montg. MSS. p. 215.

[37] O'Neill's proceedings at the close of the siege are thus noticed:—"*August* 8*th*. O'Neill sent to Goldsmith's-town, to surrender, which was rejected. A party of our horse and dragoons, with five hundred of O'Neill's foot, marched into Ennishowen for a present relief of O'Neill's men and ours; but, their contribution being not ready, they take of the readiest one hundred and sixty cows, or thirty or forty oxen. 9*th*. O'Neill by a party of his again comes to Goldsmith's-town; they attempt to scale the bawne; but were put off with the loss of a captain and thirty or forty soldiers. 10*th*. New Buildings or Goldsmith's-town quitted, and taken by O'Neill, wherein was good store of malt and other provisions. 12*th*. Their new fort called Charles-fort, upon the water, was surrendered to the president, wherein was one hundred and eighty men, eleven pieces of ordnance, and four small drakes upon one carriage; but little ammunition or provision. 12*th*. Eale [Enogh] castle delivered up; Mogerline [Mongavlin], lieutenant-colonel James Galbraith's house, delivered up, and captain Gore left in it. 13*th*. Raphoe castle summoned, but rejected the summons. 14*th*. A party of our own horse and foot, and some of O'Neill's, marched with three pieces of ordnance to Raphoe castle to beleagure it." Captain Finch concludes his diary by saying:—"The whole country in effect comes in, submits, and gets protections." Owen Roe O'Neill took ill before he left Derry and never recovered. He was carried in a litter to Cloughouter castle in Cavan, where he died, Nov. 6, 1649. Des. Cur. Hib. ii. 521.

encampment, and returned by Ballykelly and Coleraine, "with their companies," to their former quarters in Down and Antrim. The castles in the vicinity of Derry and in the Lagan were immediately surrendered to Coote; with the exception of that at Raphoe which bishop John Leslie, who had returned to Ulster after the death of the king, defended with great bravery for a length of time.

The republican party were now masters of the north-western portion of the province. The royalists, unsupported by the presbyterians, held their garrisons of Coleraine and Carrickfergus by a precarious tenure; and soon after there appeared in Ireland a victorious general, who, by his vigorous and successful prosecution of the war, speedily rendered the arms of the infant republic of England triumphant throughout the entire island. This was OLIVER CROMWELL, whose arrival at Dublin on the fifteenth of August, soon put an end to the brief ascendancy of the prelatical party, and completely changed the aspect of affairs in Ulster.

CHAPTER XV.

Cromwell takes the field—Storming of Drogheda—Venables sent into Ulster—takes Lisburn and Belfast—Death of Owen O' Conolly—Antrim burned by Monro—Carrickfergus surrendered to Venables—Defeat of the royalists near Lisburn—The republican party threaten the presbytery—Progress of the independents—Military operations between the Irish and the republicans—The former defeated near Letterkenny—The latter take Charlemont and terminate the war in Ulster—The engagement pressed—Ministers imprisoned—Correspondence with Venables—Coote's declaration—Parliamentary commissioners—Death of major Ellis—Increased privations of the ministers—Many withdraw to Scotland—Names of those remaining in the country—Challenged by the independents to a public discussion, which takes place at Antrim—Fleetwood appointed a commissioner—High court of justice—Notices of baptist and independent preachers—Ker and O' Quin restored to communion—Two ministers wait on Fleetwood and the council in Dublin—Papers of the ministers are seized—They are summoned to appear at Carrickfergus—Are threatened to be removed out of the country—But dismissed with unexpected favour.

CROMWELL had no sooner landed than he took the field with a formidable army of brave and experienced troops, and prosecuted the war with a vigour for which the enemies of the republic were wholly unprepared. In the end of August he marched from Dublin, and on Monday the second of September invaded Drogheda, which Ormond had garrisoned with the choicest of his men under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, a Roman catholic general of high military reputation. Cromwell having completed his batteries within a week, formally summoned the governor to surrender the town. This summons being promptly rejected, on the following day he effected a breach in the walls, and his troops being twice repulsed, he placed himself at the head of the reserve

and led them on to victory. The town was taken by storm after a desperate defence; no quarter was given; the garrison were put to the sword; numbers of the defenceless inhabitants perished; and the name and the arms of Cromwell were invested with such terror that the smaller towns speedily surrendered. Two days afterwards he despatched a considerable body of horse and foot under colonel Venables to extend his conquests in Ulster. When the troops appeared before Dundalk they found it deserted by the royalists; and a few days afterwards he took the strong and well-fortified castle of Carlingford, in which were large supplies of ammunition and arms. On the following day Newry, with its castle, was in like manner ceded to Venables, who had advanced so rapidly that he was obliged to remain here a few days until the main body of his forces overtook him. (1) He thence marched to Dromore, and "encamped in a field to the south-west of the town by the high-way side, well enclosed with hedges;" where a party of the royalist cavalry under colonel Trevor, suddenly falling on his troops during the night, had nearly routed and dispersed them. But Venables, having rallied his men after this unexpected assault, attacked Trevor at daybreak; and having rescued major Viller and captain Usher, with several others who had been taken prisoners, and having retaken two standards which had been captured by major Chatfield of the royalist horse, he compelled them to retire towards the Bann, while he prosecuted his march without molestation to Lisburn. He arrived at that town on the twenty-seventh of September, and being joined by a troop of horse commanded by major Brough, formerly under Monck, he invested Belfast; which on the thirtieth was surrendered by lord Montgomery's regiment, after having occupied

[1] See a pamphlet entitled, "Letters from Ireland relating the several successes it hath pleased God to give unto the parliament forces there, in the taking of Drogheda, Trym, Dundalk, Carlingford, and the Newry, &c." Lond. 4to. 1649. pp. 20. Venables' letter is dated from Newry, Sept. 22, 1649.

it for the brief period of three months.(2) He placed a garrison in Lisburn, and another in Antrim under the command of the celebrated Owen O'Conolly, now a lieutenant-colonel and an adherent of the republican party.

Venables fixed his head-quarters at Belfast, and having as yet neither troops nor artillery sufficient for investing Carrickfergus, held by the royalists under Dalzell, he suspended further proceedings, and despatched intelligence of his progress to Coote, with orders to join him with a reinforcement without delay. In the latter end of August a thousand men had safely landed at Derry from England, at the head of whom Coote scoured the surrounding country; and, fearing a second siege, he accumulated a considerable stock of provisions within the city. (3) In compliance with the suggestion of Venables he marched to Coleraine, which was betrayed to him, and compelled Sir George Munro to retire towards Carrickfergus. Munro having sent a party under colonel John Hamilton to rescue the town of Antrim from O'Conolly, an encounter took place which proved fatal to the latter, and which is thus narrated by Adair: "There was an observable passage concerning a person mentioned before as a great instrument for good to the city of Dublin, and to all Ireland, viz. major O'Connolly. He had fallen in with the sectarian party, got the command of the regiment in Antrim which formerly belonged to his old master Sir John Clotworthy, now a sufferer and prisoner under that party of the sectaries, for his declining their courses and adhering to the king's just rights and interests. This O'Connolly with some few English met accidentally with a party under the com-

[2] Carte, ii. 88—90. See also "A Letter from the Atturney of Ireland concerning the taking of the towne of Wexford by storme, on the 11th of October last, &c. &c. With some other intelligence from the North and South of Ireland." Lond. 4to. 26th October, 1649. pp. 5. In this tract it it said, "We are now possessed of all the North, saving Knockfurgus, Colraine, and Killileagh." The castle at this latter place was not taken by the republicans till the beginning of December.

[3] Whitelocke, 425, 427.

mand of, as well as the company of, colonel John Hamilton, (who at that time was subject to colonel George Munro then in the country,) at Dunadry near Antrim, where there was a sharp debate. O'Connolly was mortally wounded, and carried with no more respect than a dead ox behind a man to Connor, where he immediately died. (4) This man, for what could be observed, was of an ingenuous nature and truly sincere; yet he was then deceived by the pretences of that party, and seemed violent that way, Therefore, though God had brought him to great respect and a considerable estate upon occasion of his former faithfulness at the breaking out of the rebellion; yet falling from his first principles, and going along with that declining party, the Lord would punish him with this temporal stroke of being cut off after this manner, for a warning to others to beware of such courses. Besides his wife died very shortly after, and left a son and daughter; his son a very idiot unto the greatest height, and the daughter, though thereafter married to a worthy gentleman, Mr. Hugh Rowley, yet proved but more than half a fool, and a burden to her husband for many years, and without posterity. (5) George Munro having a party with him, most of them Irish who had been rebels and concluded in the peace [with Ormond], about this time coming along towards Antrim, and alleging that they fired against him from the mount, he set fire to the town, which burnt it all except some few houses; he also afterwards burnt Lisnegarvey:—the one having been long famous for a place where the gospel

[4] This account is corroborated by the following pamphlet:—"The taking of Wexford, a letter from an eminent officer in the army under the command of the lord lieutenant of Ireland; &c. And the engagement between colonell Monroe and colonell O'Connolly, who was slain in the service." Lond. 4to. 1649. pp. 8. O'Connolly was at the head of about an hundred horse. Captain Rooper was also killed, "with about twenty others slain, and about the same number taken prisoners; the rest escaped." The letter communicating this intelligence is dated October 20, 1649.

[5] These children were named Arthur and Martha O'Connolly. In the Appendix, No. XIV. the reader will see that they received a pension from Cromwell's government of ten shillings each weekly.

flourished and where godliness was countenanced both by landlord and inhabitants, the other a place where neither landlord nor people, a very few excepted, did give countenance or entrance to the gospel:—which teaches us not to judge by events as to these common calamities."

In the meantime, Coote had followed Monro from Coleraine, and had effected a junction with Venables at Belfast; and their united forces invested Carrickfergus in the latter end of October. Dalzell, unable to prolong the defence, resolved to capitulate; and on the second of November, articles of surrender, stipulating for the delivery of the town and castle on the thirteenth of December, were agreed to and regularly signed.(6) During this interval Coote and Venables, notwithstanding the season, resolved to take the field. Monro, having burned Antrim and Lisburn, had joined lords Clanbrassil and Montgomery in the county of Down, and in expectation of a reinforcement from Ormond (7) they were preparing to attack Venables at Belfast, with the view of relieving the garrison at Carrickfergus before its final surrender into his hands. But the uninterrupted victories of Cromwell in Munster prevented Ormond from despatching any assistance to the north; and the time for the delivery of Carrickfergus rapidly approaching, the royalist leaders at length mustered their forces and resolved to risk an engagement. Coote and Venables, apprised of their plans, met them "on the plains of Lisnegarvey," at a place called Lisnestrain, not far from Lisburn.(8) On the sixth of December the engagement took place, when the royalists, led on by lords Clanbrassil and Montgomery, and their horse by Sir George Monro, were defeated and totally dispersed. Many inferior officers and nearly a thousand men were slain; and their baggage, arms,

6 These articles are printed in M^c^Skimin's History of Carrickfergus, pp. 59, 60.

7 This reinforcement was sent by Ormond, under the command of Daniel O'Neill and colonel Mark Trevor; but it arrived too late. Carte's Letters, ii. 418.

8 Montg. MSS. p. 217.

and ammunition were taken. Monro fled to Charlemont, and thence to Enniskillen, and the lords Clanbrassil and Montgomery with difficulty escaped and joined Ormond in the south.(9) Agreeably to the articles of surrender, Coote took possession of Carrickfergus on the thirteenth of December, and Dalzell retired to Charlemont; so that, with the exception of this small fort and that at Enniskillen, the royalist party were dispossessed of all their garrisons in Ulster. Thus the enterprise of lord Montgomery, for which he had abandoned his friends, betrayed the presbytery, and involved him-

[9] The particulars of this decisive engagement are only to be found in a small pamphlet entitled, "Two Letters from Wm. Basil, esq. attorney general of Ireland: The one to the right hon. John Bradshaw, lord president of the council of state; the other to the right honourable William Lenthal, esq. speaker of the parliament of England, of a great victory obtained by the parliament's forces in the north of Ireland on the plains of Lisnegarvey, &c. With a relation of the taking of Drumcree [in Armagh], and of the surrender of Carrickfergus upon articles." Lond. 1649, 4to. pp. 7. At the end of the first letter, which is dated from Dublin, December 12, 1649, is the following postscript, giving a summary of the whole affair:—"This night col. Chidley Coote is come to town with letters from his brother, the lord president: the substance of his brother's letters, and his own relation, is briefly thus:—The Scotch lords and George Munroe fell into the Claneboys with 4,000 men; and on the 5th of this instant the enemy drew out their army and would have fought, but our party wanting some horse forbare to engage. The next day the enemy drew off, and our army following them, sent out a forlorn hope of 200 men, the horse commanded by captain Dunbar, of Sir Theophilus Jones his regiment, and the foot by major Gore of the lord president's regiment; the 200 men fell upon the rear of the enemy, and, before the army could come up, with the loss of one corporal and two private soldiers, routed the whole army, of whom were slain in the place a thousand men. The president writes:—And a party of horse, commanded the nearest way to the Blackwater to stay that pass, slew four hundred more there, where George Munroe saved himself by swimming." In the letter itself it is stated, "Colonel Henderson, a Scotchman, who betrayed Sligo to the Irish, was killed. Colonel John Hamilton, one other Scotchman, who killed O'Connolly and burnt Lisnegarvey, is taken prisoner." See also Whitelocke, p. 435, from which it appears that, in the first account of the engagement that reached London, lord Clanbrassil or Claneboy was reported to have sunk in a bog by reason of his great corpulency, and to have thus lost his life.

self in the guilt of deliberate falsehood, if not of perjury, proved wholly abortive; and the republicans became once more the masters of the province, of which they held uninterrupted possession until the Restoration.

During these vicissitudes in the government of Ulster, the presbytery persevered in testifying against the power of the usurpers, and in favour of a limited monarchy in the person of Charles II. Venables, on his first arrival at Belfast, and while the success of his expedition to the north was yet uncertain, protected and countenanced the ministers. "He did at this time," writes Adair, "emit a declaration to encourage ministers of the country, giving all encouragement to the well-affected and those who had been in opposition to the malignant party before; declaring it was for their preservation he was sent to this country, and in order to that for reducing the malignants:—this declaration was sent out in September, 1649." After he had taken possession of Carrickfergus, as governor of the north-eastern parts of Ulster, and had dispersed his troops in winter quarters throughout the country, the ministers first began to encounter opposition. "At this time the ministers preached publickly in their congregations, and continued to pray for the new king, and declare against the sectarian party; which did endanger divers of the brethren in those places where any of the army heard them preach. The officers threatened them with severity, and the rude soldiers did so also. However the governor, colonel Venables, though he was informed of these prayers and preachings, yet was not sudden to call ministers to question. Having had occasion to discourse with some of them in places where he sometimes travelled, he found them sober and religious, and in every thing was pleased with them except in that one particular. He studied much to insinuate upon them as he met with them; but especially he forebore, in regard he was not yet fixed in the country, and the enemies remaining therein." In their present difficulties the ministers enjoyed the sympathy and co-operation of their parent church in Scotland. Charles II. having accepted the propo-

sitions submitted to him at Breda by commissioners from the estates of Scotland, among whom was the Rev. John Livingston, that kingdom prepared to accept him as their sovereign, and to maintain his cause by arms against the parliament of England. Under these circumstances the commission of the church sent over ministers to Ulster, in the month of April, to encourage the presbytery in their opposition to the usurpers, and in their adherence to the king, now solemnly pledged to support the covenant.(10)

Meanwhile, the independents eagerly availed themselves of republican ascendancy to advance the interests of their party in Ireland; but though, during the space of ten years, they enjoyed without interruption a state-endowment and the support of the civil power, they utterly failed in establishing themselves as a religious sect in the kingdom. They relied wholly on the patronage of the government as then administered; their teachers resided exclusively in the garrison-towns, or within military quarters; and when at the Restoration the power of the usurpers was overthrown, almost all the ministers fled, and their congregations dispersed; and in a few years, with the exception of one or two in Dublin, and perhaps a like number in Munster, not an independent church existed throughout the kingdom. The first step of that party was to procure the appointment of the celebrated Doctor John Owen, their most distinguished divine, to be chaplain to Cromwell. To this influential office he was nominated on the second of July, 1649, at the usual salary, with an additional sum of one hundred pounds a year, to be paid quarterly to his wife and family, (11) who remained in England while he accompanied his patron to Ireland. He took up his residence in the castle, and during his short stay in Dublin was a constant preacher in the city.(12) He returned to England in the

10 Carte, ii. 3.

11 Commons' Journals, vi. 248.

12 That the parliament were early expected to bestir themselves in behalf of the independents and other sectaries in Ireland, appears from the following curious pamphlet, published before Cromwell was appointed to the

January following; and on the last day of February preached by appointment before the parliament, and urged them to prosecute with vigour their measures for the spread of the Gospel in this country. (13) Three months previously a bill had been introduced "for the better advancement of the Gospel and learning in Ireland;" which finally passed into a law on the eighth of March. The object of this bill was simply to vest the estates of the archbishoprick of Dublin and bishoprick of Meath, with those of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin, in certain trustees (14) for the better support of Trinity college, the erection of a second college in the metropolis, the support of professors in the university, and the maintenance of a free-school. On the same day on which this act was passed, the parliament entered into resolutions to abolish the hierarchy and the use

office of lord-lieutenant. It is entitled, "Zion's thankful echoes from the clifts of Ireland: or the little church of Christ in Ireland warbling out her humble and grateful addresses to her elder sister in England. And in particular to the parliament, to his excellency, and to his army, or that part assigned to her assistance now in her low yet hopefull condition." Lond. 4to, 1649, pp. 25. It is a semi-religious poetical rhapsody, and consists of addresses, (1) to the church in England; (2) to the parliament of England; (3) to his excellency the lord Fairfax; (4) to the English commanders and soldiers assigned for the relief of Ireland. The prefatory lines are subscribed by Edward Calver.

[13] The following is an extract from Owen's sermon on this occasion:—"I would there were for the present one gospel preacher for every walled town in the English possession in Ireland. The land mourneth, and the people perish for want of knowledge; many run to and fro, but it is upon other designs—knowledge is not increased. They are sensible of their wants, and cry out for supply. The tears and cries of the inhabitants of Dublin after the manifestations of Christ are ever in my view. If they were in the dark, and loved to have it so, it might in some respects close the door upon the bowels of our compassion; but they cry out of their darkness, and are ready to follow every one whosoever, to have a candle." Works, xv. 287-8.

[14] These trustees were Henry Ireton, president of the province of Munster, William Basil, esq. attorney-general in Ireland for the state, colonel Robert Venables, Sir Robert King, knight, colonel Henry Cromwell, John Cook, esq. Doctor Henry Jones, Doctor Jonathan Goddard, colonel Hierome Sanky, Doctor John Harding, James Whitelock, esq. John Owen, clerk, Robert Stappleton, gent. Jenkin Lloyd, and Ralph Cudworth, clerk.

of the common prayer-book in Ireland; and to "send over forthwith six able ministers to dispense the Gospel in the city of Dublin." To each of these ministers they voted a liberal salary of two hundred pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly out of the public revenue of Ireland; and should any of them die while employed in this service, they engaged to make competent provision for their wives and children. (15) The names of these ministers cannot now be ascertained; but about this time Mr. Timothy Taylor, joint pastor of a congregational church at Duckenfield in Cheshire, settled as chaplain to Venables at his head-quarters in Carrickfergus; (16) and other independent and baptist teachers were admitted to officiate, to the exclusion of the presbyterian clergy, in the few garrison towns of Ulster.

So anxious was Cromwell to secure an adequate supply of such teachers, that he wrote to New England inviting ministers to come over, and offering ample encouragement should they consent to settle in this kingdom. On the last day of October several independent ministers wrote from America to Cromwell, thanking him in fulsome terms for his "noble proposals;" and assuring him that, on certain conditions which they were prudent enough to specify at length, they were disposed to accept his offer; "and if the Lord's mind," say they, "shall cleerly appeare to give us a sufficient call and incouragement to remove into Ireland to serve the

15 Commons' Journals, vi. 379.

16 Wood's Ath. Oxon. ii. col. 682. Taylor was at first a presbyterian; but so soon as the influence of that party began to decline in parliament, like many others of his brethren, he became an independent. In defence of this seasonable change of opinion, his colleague and he published a pamphlet in November 1645, and in July following a second in defence of the former, which had been successfully attacked by a presbyterian minister at Manchester. In these joint productions the authors' names are thus given:— "Mr. Samuel Eaton, teacher, and Timothy Taylor, pastor, of the church in Duckenfield in Cheshire." He does not appear to have published any thing after his settlement at Carrickfergus, where he enjoyed an endowment of two hundred per annum, and occupied the same residence which had been previously held by the rector of the parish, and the rent of which was paid by the corporation.

Lord Jesus there, we shall chearfully and thankfully embrace the same." Among these conditions, they stipulated not only for the establishment of their worship and government as already incorporated with the state in New England, and for a due "proportion of outward encouragement in houses and lands;" but also for assistance to their people to remove with them, for a settlement "in the more healthful part of the country," for a freedom for several years from public charges, and for permission to choose from the members of their own church the future governor of their settlement, within which they desire that no Irish may be permitted to inhabit. Whether in this negociation the independent teachers succeeded in obtaining the various privileges for which they stipulated, and subsequently removed to Ireland, it is now impossible to ascertain. (17)

So soon as the season permitted, vigorous preparations were made both by the royalists and the republicans for renewing the war. The former, comprising both the prelatical party under Ormond and the Irish confederates, held a provincial council at Belturbet on the eighteenth of March to choose a general in room of the late Owen Roe O'Neill. Among the candidates for this office who, with one exception, were Romanists, were the marquess of Antrim, Sir Phelim O'Neill, and Heber or Ever McMahon, the titular bishop of Clogher. The predominance of clerical influence in the council secured the election of the latter, who soon after published a declaration vindicating their proceedings, and prepared to wrest the strong holds of Ulster out of the hands

17 See Nickolls' State Papers, Lond. 1743, fol. pp. 44-5, where this letter of the independent ministers to Cromwell and their Conditions are given at length. These documents are reprinted in the Second Series of Ellis's "Letters illustrative of English History," vol. iii. page 360. (No. ccc.) They are followed by two letters written by Cromwell (Nos. ccci. and cccii.) both of which had already been printed in that *note*-able work, Harris's Cromwell, pp. 536-7. These expensive volumes by Sir Henry Ellis purport to contain letters which had never been published before. My very limited examination of them, however, has thus detected three exceptions within the compass of as many pages, and perhaps there may be more.

of the republicans. (18) This party were not inactive. In the month of April, Coote obtained possession of Enniskillen from Sir George Munro; who, despairing of relief, surrendered the town and castle on favourable terms for himself and his adherents, most of whom accompanied him to Scotland. Having garrisoned this important post, on the fourteenth of April Coote collected his troops that had quartered during the winter in the Lagan, and sent orders to Venables to take the field and join him before Charlemont, with the view of commencing the campaign by the reduction of that fort. (19) But the mitred general, having mustered his army at Monaghan, resolved to prevent, if possible, this proposed junction of his two formidable opponents. For this purpose he despatched a party who surprised the castle and fort of Toome; and, having repaired its fortifications, he pushed forward a considerable body of horse and foot to annoy the English at Antrim. This skilful manœuvre, while it effected the object which he had in view, gained time for him to recruit his army. Venables was compelled to return from

[18] This paper is styled, "The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commanders of his Majesties forces of the province of Ulster." It is dated at Charlemont, 20 May, 1650, and is signed by McMahon under the official designation of "Emeras Cloughensis," and by twenty-one of the council. When published in London, it was accompanied by nine pages of "Remarques or Observations," which bear indisputable evidence of their having proceeded from the vigorous and eloquent pen of Milton, though they have not been noticed by any of his numerous biographers as one of his productions. See the original pamphlet, entitled,—"A Declaration of the Irish armie in Ulster, sent to the parliament in a letter from William Basill, Esq. atturney-general of Ireland, &c. To which is added a Perfect Relation of the victorie over this Irish armie com'n to hand since their Declaration was put to press." Lond. 1650. 4to. pp. 24.

[19] The subsequent notices of Coote's proceedings during this short campaign are taken from "The Perfect Relation of the total overthrow of the Irish armie in Ulster by my Lord President of Connaught," appended to the pamphlet mentioned in the preceding note. This "Relation" is in the form of a letter from one of Coote's officers, whose name is not given, and is dated from Omagh, June 27, 1650.

Charlemont for the protection of his quarters in the county of Antrim; and to invest Toome, which held out against him for several weeks. It was at length surrendered to him upon quarter, "after it had stood a strong batterie and a mortar-piece; and, being re-intrencht, could not have been gained without loss of foot, of which the lord president stood most in need."

Coote had, in the mean time, marched from Derry "by the Lough-side into Tyrone, to make prey of their krieaughts (20) which lay in those great fastnesses of Glankankan [Glenshane], that was guarded with some five troops of horse of Colonel Philip Mac Toul's regiment, Turlough Mac Art Oge's regiment, and general-major O'Lane's regiment; as also to engage those regiments so as they might not infest Venables at Toome." (21) After that fort was taken Coote posted himself at Dungannon; but, his supplies being cut off by the Irish, he was forced to retire with the main body of his army to Omagh, leaving his own regiment of horse and that of his brother captain Chidley Coote to watch the motions of the Irish, who lay securely encamped near Charlemont. The bishop, hearing that Venables had marched to Coleraine with the view of proceeding by Derry to join Coote, invested Dungiven, which was held by lieutenant-colonel Michael Beresford. "Coote sent orders to all the country to put over their goods and remove themselves to the other side of Lough Foyle; by which means the bishop's army was straightened for victuals, and the corn being in the ground the country suffered but little." Though gallantly defended to the last, the castle of Dungiven was taken by storm; that at Ballycastle, near Newtonlimavady, was "poltroon-like" surrendered; but "Limavady castle, belonging to major Philips, was only attempted by menacing parties; major Philips having resolutely burned all his out-houses

[20] Creaghts, or herds of cattle.

[21] Perfect Relation, &c. *ut supra.*

or any thing that might advantage the enemy's covert approach."

Coote, having obtained the necessary assistance at Omagh, despatched major King with three troops of horse and major Reid with three hundred foot, to co-operate with the garrison at Enniskillen in intercepting the supplies of men and provisions which the bishop was expecting from Connaught:—"the master-point being all this while how to work a conjuncture of the Claneboy forces; for my lord president resolved, if it could be effected, immediately to put it to a day." An ill-advised movement of the bishop unexpectedly afforded him the desired opportunity. To keep open the communication with Ballyshannon and Connaught, McMahon resolved to pass the river Foyle at the ford of Clonleigh (22) not far from Lifford; which Coote permitted him to effect without molestation. But so soon as the Irish had passed the river, the English general, having previously prepared his men for a rapid movement, hastily marched to "Breagh-dough, another strong pass three miles behind Clanlee—for which pass the Irish strove hard;" (23) as the possession of it cut off their return, and enabled Coote and Venables to effect their long proposed junction. The English succeeded in securing this post; and the bishop, mortified at this successful manœuvre, the result of his own rashness, drew up his men in order of battle, and attempted to regain the pass. A skirmish took place on the second of June, in which captain Tailor of the English dragoons was slain, and captain Cathcart severely wounded; but the Irish were compelled to retire "on the mountainest ground they could find" towards Letterkenny, followed by Coote, who declined an engagement till he should be joined by the troops under Venables. On the eighteenth,

[22] Cox (ii. 25) calls this Claudy-ford, which is above Strabane, and which does not coincide with the localities as given either in the pamphlet quoted in the text, or in Dis. Cur. Hib. ii. 524.

[23] Now called the Long Causeway, a passage through a deep morass at the foot of Dun-duff hill between Lifford and Letterkenny.

the latter, to the number of a thousand, arrived from Coleraine under the command of colonel Fenwick; (24) when, understanding that the bishop had sent colonel Miles Sweeny with a detachment to seize on the castle of Doe and procure provisions, Coote resolved to embrace that opportunity of coming to an engagement. Accordingly on Friday the twenty-first of June, at Schear-Saullis, (25) two miles south-west of Letterkenny on the river Swilly, both armies engaged. This battle, memorable as the last which occurred in Ulster until the wars of the Revolution, was maintained with desperate valour on both sides for a considerable time. But the Irish, having lost their major-general, O'Cahan, with five colonels and most of their officers, gave way and were totally routed, leaving their arms, ammunition, baggage, and even their colours upon the field. Of the English there were killed only major Harry Gore and one captain, with a few officers wounded, but not severely. (26) Sir Phelim O'Neill and Alexander

[24] Venables, it appears, had gone to Dublin to acquaint the council of officers there of the precarious condition of Coote and his small party in the face of the large army of the Irish. Nickolls' State Papers, p. 72.

[25] This is the correct name of the place where the battle was fought; though the "Perfect Relation" calls it Schear-follis, and Cox Skirfolas, ii. 25. Until very lately an old castle stood here which had been one of the residences of the O'Donnells, and commanded the ford of the Swilly [*Hibernicè* Skear-swillis] and the narrow gorge leading to Glen-swilly; but I could scarcely discover any traces of it. Human bones are still occasionally found in repairing the embankments of the river.

[26] An abstract of Coote's account of this sanguinary engagement is given by Whitelocke, (pp. 463-4,) by which it appears that the loss of the Irish was very great—amounting to nearly three thousand men. On the 9th of July his letters were read in the parliament, who directed a day of public thanksgiving to be observed for this decisive victory, voted a hundred pounds to Mr. King who brought the news, and ordered a letter of thanks to be written to Sir Charles Coote and his officers, among whom the following were specially noticed:—col. Fenwick, col. Richard Coote, lieutenant-col. Gore, major John King, major Francis Gore, and captain Duckenfield. Com. Journ. vi. 438. Major King survived the Restoration, when he was created by Charles II. the first lord Kingston. In Aubrey's Miscellanies (8vo. Lond. 1721, pp. 44-5) is the following account of an apparition which was seen by M^{c}Mahon and some of his officers the night before this event-

M^c^Donnell, brother to the earl of Antrim, succeeded in effecting their escape; but M^c^Mahon, with a small escort of horse, was pursued by major King at the head of a squadron from Enniskillen, who encountered the fugitives on the twenty-fifth, and made the bishop his prisoner.

By this victory, the power of the royalists and confederate Irish in Ulster was completely overthrown. The castles of Lifford, Ballycastle, and Dungiven were abandoned. Coote, having beheaded the captive prelate at Enniskillen, returned to Derry, and placed the head of his victim on one of the gates of the city. Having recruited his victorious troops, he despatched a considerable reinforcement to Venables, who had returned from Coleraine to Carrickfergus, with instructions to invest Charlemont—the only fort which remained in the hands of the Irish. The garrison under Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had made his way thither after the defeat at Letterkenny, defended the place in the most resolute manner against repeated assaults; till being at length reduced to the utmost extremity, they surrendered upon terms, and in the beginning of August Venables took formal possession of the fort. (27)

ful battle. "A woman of uncommon stature, all in white, appearing to the said bishop, admonished him not to cross the river first, to assault the enemy, but suffer them to do it, whereby he should obtain the victory. That if the Irish took the water first to move towards the English they should be put to a total rout; which came to pass. O'Cahan and Sir Henry O'Neal, who were both killed there, saw severally the same apparition, and dissuaded the bishop from giving the first onset, but could not prevail upon him."

27 The desperate defence made by the garrison is amply attested by the following extract from a letter of Venables to Cromwell, written immediately after their surrender. "After our greate victory [at Letterkenny], soe soone as wee could bring ourselves into a posture fitt for a siege wee sett down before Charlemont, wherein haveing made our approaches, wee presently battered the same, but found it stronger than expected, and soe were forced to send for more powder and ball, and the gunns being within fourty or fifty yards of the wall; which being done, wee fell to our former taske againe, and conceiving the breach assaultable wee fell on, but weare repulsed with the losse of fourty men, whereof five were captains, besides inferiour officers, and about two hundred and fifty wounded. After which repulse wee continued the myne formerly begunne and almost perfected, and a run-

The entire province was now prostrate at the feet of the English republic; and Coote and Venables, thus victorious over its enemies, were ill prepared to brook any longer the opposition of the presbytery to their usurped authority.

One of the first measures of the parliament, after the execution of the king and the abolition of the house of lords, was to frame an oath called the ENGAGEMENT, in which all persons were required to swear to be 'faithful to the commonwealth of England as now established, without a king or house of lords.' No one was admitted to any public office or place of trust, who had not taken this oath; and their several commanders were required to administer it to all under their authority. So soon, therefore, as Venables had fixed his residence at Carrickfergus, he proceeded to impose this oath on his officers and soldiers, and on the chief magistrates of the towns within his quarters; and to invite the several ministers around him to enter into it without delay. The latter at once refused to take the oath; but owing to their popularity and influence in the country, and his apprehensions of the royalist party, not at that time subdued, he forbore to press it on them, or to notice this refusal to acknowledge the authority of the new republic. (28) But when that party were

ning trench by which wee intended to putt a gallery over their graffe. Finding our batteries could not worke the said effect, wee weare induced to follow this course, which whyle we weare prosecuting the enemy sounded a parly, and wee consented to it, and imediately agreed upon the surrender of the place, whereof we are now in possession; and have since found that in the storme they lost all their officers except Sir Philomie himself and two lieutenants. These lost about fifty men, and wee lost about seaventy. Little ammunicon found; onely one barrel of powder, sixty cowes and oxen, with some salt, salmond, and butter, soe that wee conceive they might have houlden out three weekes or a month longer." Nickolls' State Papers, p. 83. This letter is without a date, and the editor conjectures it was written in 1651. But this is an error, as it was manifestly written in August 1650. See Whitelocke, 467, 469.

[28] By a letter from Edinburgh it appears that, even so early as the beginning of February 1650, some proceedings had been taken against the ministers. "From Dublin by letters of February 15, we heare—— that in

on the eve of being driven out of the province, probably urged on by the independents, he began to deal less favourably with the ministers. The following narrative of his proceedings and of their able and resolute defence of their conduct, was drawn up by them at the time, and has been happily preserved. (29)

" The sectaries, although they might, yet they did not at the first publickly disturb the ministers, notwithstanding of their free preaching against their courses, till once they had the enemy without sufficiently subdued, and these people within taught to carry their yoke.

" After they had found themselves in a tolerable posture, they began most cunningly to loaden the ministry with reproaches (else their malice and purpose of persecution could not have been well enough conveyed); for, say they, 'the ministers are bloody men—they are seditious—they keep a distance between you and us, meaning the country, else your burdens would not lye so heavy upon you—they, in their preaching and praying, are guilty of treason against the state.' Then begun they in their councils to advise what course was fittest to be taken with these men; and it was thought fit that summons should be issued for them, commanding them to appear before colonel Venables at the army at Dromore. The first summons came to us [met in presbytery at Bangor] about four hours before the hour of our appearing: whereupon not long after second summons were sent. These peremptory summons sent to them before that they had called them to a conference, or had desired that the question should be disputed for the satisfaction of conscience, seemed very strange unto the ministers. Besides, understanding of the threatening expressions that had passed

the north of Ireland, the engagement is vehemently persist, and some of the ministers imprisoned." Nickolls' State Papers, p. 4.

29 This valuable document, which I have methodized and condensed in the text, is printed, though in an abridged form, in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' p. 289 *et seq.* and is entitled, " The Defences of Mr. John Drysdaill, minister at Portaferry, Mr. Bautie, Mr. Main, and Mr. Alexander, ministers, prisoners. June 1650."

from many of them, and the particular carriage of some formerly who had publickly drawn in soldiers into sundry churches, and opposed the ministers, yea publickly reviled them with base words; also the very day before the [second] summons came they had apprehended Mr. John Drysdaill, minister of Portaferry, by a band of near eighty dragoons:—all those and sundry other considerations moved the ministers to write back in answer to these summons; and desire a safe conduct that so they might without trouble go and return. Instead of the safe conduct, a party was presently sent to bring every minister by violence; these of the county of Antrim to Carrickfergus, and those of the county of Down to Belfast.

"Of the ministers of the county of Down, beside Mr. Drysdaill formerly apprehended, were taken Mr. James Baty [or Bautie], minister at Ballywalter, and Mr. Fergus Alexander, minister at Grey-abbey. Of these in the county of Antrim were apprehended Mr. Henry Main, minister at Islemagee, and carried to the common prison of Carrickfergus. Master Archibald Ferguson, Mr. David Buttle, Mr. Anthony Kennedy also were taken, yet were permitted to stay in their own houses till colonel Venables came from the army; at which time we were all to be brought before him. As for the rest of the ministers they were upon their keeping; some fled to the woods, and some to Scotland, or hid themselves. Those of the county of Down were brought to Belfast, and were imprisoned in a lodging where none of the Lord's people durst come to visit them, nor hear them preach, nor join with them in prayer: the heathen did not deal so with the apostle Paul. (Acts xxviii. 30. 1.) After sixteen days' imprisonment of Mr. Drysdaill and ten of the rest, colonel Venables came from the army to Carrickfergus, whither we were sent to observe his further pleasure.

"By the way, it is to be observed that when he had understood of the flight of the ministers, and their fears of his violence, a little to mitigate the matter, he sent this ensuing paper to Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Kennedy, upon a letter of theirs desiring their not imprisonment till he himself should

come along to Carrickfergus, at which time they promised to come to him:—'WHEREAS the ministers of the county of Down and Antrim have been summoned to appear in a fair way before me, and have some jealousies and suspicions, as I conceive, that I intended by that summons to have entrapped them, and to have taken advantage of them had they come; THIS is to assure them that if they come and give me under their hands that they will not, for time to come, in their sermons and prayers, nor in any other private conferences with the people, move them to sedition or trouble, or touch upon any other thing of state-matters than what is allowed by the state of England, that they shall have free liberty to depart from me again to their several places of abode and charges, and to use their ministerial functions: And that, although at their being with me they shall not be convinced to give this engagement, yet if they engage that they will depart this province and repair to Scotland within ten days, wind and weather serving, they shall have free liberty to do the same, and to depart on these terms also without confinement or restraint: ALL WHICH I promise under my hand this sixteenth day of June, 1650. R. Venables.'

"As you may perceive by this paper, the question was propounded to the seven ministers, 'Whether they would forbear preaching or conference in public and in private against the present power and state of England, except with such limitations as were then propounded?' unto which the ministers returned this following answer in writing, subscribed by their hands, entitled, 'Reasons why in conscience we cannot condescend unto the command of colonel Robert Venables in that kind to give obedience thereunto.'

"First, it is said by colonel Venables—you are subjects to the kingdom of Ireland, which is a kingdom belonging to England; ought you not therefore to obey the acts of the parliament of England who have, by act of parliament, adjudged it high treason if any man shall own monarchicall government by king or house of Lords, and have commanded under a penalty to subscribe an engagement to be faithful

unto the government now established without king or house of lords.

"To this we answer, that we acknowledge ourselves to be subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, and that Ireland is subordinate unto England. But it was objected that now they were come in by the sword as conquerors, and the sword must be the law. To this we answer, that there is a necessity of passive obedience in their power, though we do not acknowledge their authority. But certainly those who are conquered must, or at least ought to be made acquainted with the laws of the conqueror by public proclamation, and not receive them from every private soldier or colonel in an army. Besides, by two several declarations, colonel Venables spoke to the people in this corner in another strain; wherein are these words, that 'he was come to deliver the well-affected in the country and the ministry from the power of malignants;' so that we are amazed why he now speaks to us in a dialect so far different, and he knew as well then in what we were well affected as now.

"But grant that the kingdom of Ireland were immediately subjected unto the laws of the parliament of England, and that we in conscience were bound to obey the laws of the parliament of England, (which we for our own parts have been most ready to do always since these troubles, and do sincerely profess that we are all cordially and willingly subject unto the lawful authority of the kingdom of England as ever we were, and do resolve by the strength of God to continue constant;) yet we must be convinced that that power which now rules in England is the lawful parliamentary authority of that kingdom.

"To this colonel Venables answers, that they call themselves so. To this we answer, that it seems to us a strange assertion that they are a parliament, because they say so; or a power, because they place power in themselves. Can men be the authors and founders of a new authority in themselves? Kings and other magistrates are called the ordinance of man, because they are put into their offices by men;

but can the same person be the creator and the creature? Again, it seems to be more strange to us, for it overturns the very foundations of order and right government. For men are called to the magistracy by the suffrage of the people whom they govern; and for men to assume unto themselves power is mere tyranny and unjust usurpation.

"But it may be said that the parliament are called by the people. We indeed conceive that the first parliament which was made up of the three estates were orderly, in their members being elected and appointed by the people according to law. But we would fain understand the nature of this government. At first sight it looks like a democracy. Yet we conceive that in a democracy, the power of government is either in the collective body of the people, or in some elected by them and entrusted therewith. But neither have the people assumed government in their own hands since the dissolution of the old government by king, lords and commons, neither have they elected any new delegates.

"But we cannot be persuaded that this can be the parliament of England, it looks so unlike it, for these reasons:— We who are now accused by you were formerly called the friends of the parliament of England; and we are in nothing changed from the men we were at that very time. We walk upon those very same principles, we preach those very same things; so that surely if this were the parliament of England we would continue in their favour. Besides, the parliament of England and their armies called us of the Scots nation their brethren; their armies and ours were one; they lived and suffered together as brethren. But we are now by your soldiers called 'seditious fellows;' our nation is styled 'a base and treacherous nation, which you will ere long make a province of;' our oaths are no more accounted than 'the bark of a dog.' All these do evidently hold forth to us that this is not the parliament of England.

"But it was objected by colonel Venables that the house was purged, for there was discovered therein a faction that carried on the king's interest without regard to the public

good or liberty of the subject. They were purged, indeed, and so purged that the very soul, essence and being of a parliament were purged from them; and nothing left but some few, even the lesser part of the house of commons. Moreover, when the king, in the sitting down of the last parliament, offered to infringe the liberties and privileges of the parliament by secluding [only five] of the members, how was it by these men cried out upon who now themselves have so violated the privileges of parliament, that they have cut off two integral parts, [the king and the lords,] and the greater part of the third estate of the whole parliament. We cannot, then, in reason say there is any parliament now sitting in England unto whom obedience is due.

"But let us go further, and grant that those men were a parliament; then, whether or not ought we to obey this command in submitting to their authority without king and house of lords? Ought we to forbear preaching, praying, or conference in public or in private, except with the limitations propounded by colonel Venables? We cannot, neither as we are subjects, nor as we are Christians, nor as we are ministers of the Gospel.

"As subjects we cannot, because we are under the moral tie unto a former established government by king, lords, and commons. Now 'no man can serve two masters;' therefore we cannot be subject both to the one and the other. And we conceive that this is the only true established authority, as we have shewed formerly.

"As Christians we cannot, because we are sworn and covenanted unto that relation, both in the oath of allegiance unto his majesty, the supreme magistrate in these three kingdoms; and in the solemn league and covenant, wherein we are solemnly engaged to maintain and defend these interests, which this engagement takes away; and because by so doing we should offend against all these Scriptures, 1 Tim. v. 22; Eph. v. 7, 11; Isa. v. 20-4; 2 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iii. 2-5; Prov. xvii. 15. But may ye not engage a non-acting against, or a permissive sufferance of this power? We deny not but unto an usurped power there may be, in some cases and for

some reasons, a present passive submission in our own temporal things; but to engage for time to come not to appear against it cannot be justified. For, by so doing, we wrong others with whom we are bound in solemn covenant, in binding up our hands from their assistance in point of justice against usurpers. And if lawful authority have a door opened for the restoration thereof, we make ourselves unable to do our duty before God and man unto the lawful magistrate.

"As ministers of the Gospel we cannot, because, of all others, ministers of the Gospel are most strictly obliged to shew opposition to sinful courses, and to study the advancement of equity in their places and stations, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5; Isa. lviii. 1. But what have ministers to do with state matters? Let them preach Jesus Christ, and not meddle with other things which do not concern them. We take no pleasure to move without our own sphere; neither, through the strength of God, resolve we to meddle in state matters, further than it becometh ministers of the Gospel. For we deal not as statesmen in state matters, but only bewail the enormities in them, and witness against their evil. And, in so far as they fall under theological rules and evangelical doctrines, we dare not restrain ourselves, but as watchmen set the trumpet to our mouth and cry aloud, and not fear."

This firm yet temperate defence of their refusal to take the engagement, reflecting as it does the highest credit on the talents, firmness and loyalty of the ministers, proved wholly unavailing. On the faith of the safe-conduct which Venables had previously granted, they were permitted to return to their charges unmolested; but they were plainly informed that "since they would not engage to carry themselves submissively to the present government, they must be gone; and that they could expect no favour from them." (30) This intimation of approaching difficulties was confirmed by a Declaration which Sir Charles Coote published in the month of

[30] Adair's MS.

subjected to rigorous treatment. They were violently excluded from their pulpits, their subsistence was withdrawn, they were in continual danger of being apprehended and imprisoned; and at a council of war held at Carrickfergus in March 1651, which was attended by Sir Charles Coote, with colonels Venables, Chidley Coote, and Robert Barrow, a formal act of banishment from the kingdom was passed against them. (33) The engagement was also pressed on all classes throughout the country. Commissioners visited almost every parish, and the inhabitants upon summons were required to appear before them, and take this obnoxious oath. And though the council of war had not yet decided what course to pursue with respect to the numbers who refused to swear, due notice was in the mean time taken of them, and threats of heavy penalties were freely denounced against them.

At this gloomy period of the history of the church died one of her most zealous and upright office-bearers, major Edmond Ellis. He was among the first elders who were ordained by the Rev. Anthony Kennedy after his settlement at Templepatrick in the end of the year 1646; (34) and was one of that

[33] Adair's MS. and Sample of Jet-Black, &c. p. 215. In July of this year I find, that, in addition to Sir C. Coote, the following were the principal officers employed in Ireland, viz. Henry Ireton, lord deputy, John Hewson, governor of Dublin, Robert Lawrence, Robert Barrow, William Allen, Hierome Sankey, Henry Cromwell, Oliver's son afterwards lord deputy, Robert Venables, Dan. Redman, J. Vernon.

[34] Mr. Kennedy, as the reader has seen (page 126, *antea*, was ordained on the 30th of October, 1646; and on the 22nd of November following, fourteen elders and four deacons were "publickly admitted and sworn with prayer and fasting." The first two names are major Edmond Ellis and lieutenant James Lindsay. The following regulations, agreed upon by the Session shortly after their appointment, will give an idea of the state of discipline at this period, and of the strict manner in which it was administered. "It is enacted by the Session of Templepatrick: First, That all complaints come into the Session by way of bill: the complaintive is to put in one shilling with his bill, and if he proves not his point, his shilling forfeits to the session-book. This is done to prevent groundless scandal. Second, That all beer-sellers that sell best beer, especially in the

rare class of Christian soldiers, of whom many had been employed in Ireland. After reluctantly surrendering Carrickfergus to the royalists under lord Montgomery in 1649, he appears to have retired to Templepatrick; where he died in the midst of his family, bewailed by his friends and deeply lamented by the church, on Wednesday the eleventh of June; the day after the engagement, to which he was strongly opposed, had been tendered at Antrim to the adjoining parishes. Through all the difficulties and vicissitudes of those trying times he was a consistent presbyterian, and a truly eminent Christian. Several of his devout sayings on his death-bed, which have been preserved, are worthy of being recorded, as affording a specimen of the religious sentiments and feelings of the presbyterian eldership at this period. (35)

In consequence of the strictness with which the engagement was pressed, and the rigorous proceedings of the council of war against the ministers, many of them were compelled to abandon the country. A few, unwilling to leave their people at this perplexing crisis, ventured to remain notwithstanding the serious privations to which they were exposed. "Those that staid in the country, though they

night-time, till people be drunk, shall be censured. Third, That if parents let their children vague or play on the Lord's-day, they shall be censured as profaners of the Sabbath. Fourth, That all persons, standing in the public place of repentance, shall pay the church-officer one groat. Fifth, That no children be baptized till the parents who present them come to some of the elders and get their children's names registered, that the elders may testify of them to the minister." It was subsequently enacted (28 Dec. 1647), "That if there be any misdemeanour, as drunkenness or squabbling, at bridals, besides the censures the persons themselves come under who commit the abuse, the persons married shall forfeit their privileges." The first communion administered at Templepatrick after Mr. Kennedy's ordination was on the 4th of July, 1647; forty pottles of the best claret were used, indicating a very large attendance of communicants. The first censure on record is—"That John Cowan shall stand opposite the pulpit, and confess his sin, in the face of the public, of beating his wife on the Lord's day."

[35] See Appendix, No. XII. where I have inserted an account of his death from a copy which I discovered among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library.

could not exercise their ministry orderly as formerly, and though their stipends were sequestered, yet they, changing their apparel to the habit of countrymen, travelled in their own parishes frequently, and sometimes in other places, taking what opportunities they could to preach in the fields, or in barns and glens; and were seldom in their own houses. They persuaded the people to constancy in the received doctrines, in opposition to the wild heresies which were then spreading, and reminding them of their duty to their lawful magistrates, the king and parliament, in opposition to the usurpation of the times; and in their public prayers always mentioning the lawful magistrate.

"This continued throughout the summer of 1651; at which time there was diligent search made anew for them. Some were again taken, others fled; and those who were taken were imprisoned first, for a time, in Carrickfergus, in lodgings where they quartered; and thereafter, colonel Venables not gaining any ground upon them, they were sent to Scotland, where all of them were invited to parishes, and exercised their ministry for about three years in divers places of Scotland, and were admitted as members of the presbyteries where their congregations were: and withal they reserved a liberty to return to their places in Ireland, if ever God should open a door. Those remaining in the country and not apprehended, being only about six or seven, were Messrs. Thomas Peebles, James Gordon, and Gilbert Ramsay, in the county of Down; and Messrs. Anthony Kennedy, Robert Cunningham, and Patrick Adair, in the county of Antrim. These were now put to greater difficulties than before, being more earnestly searched after than in their houses; yet they continued preaching in remote or private places, where the people willingly met them. They had frequent meetings among themselves in order to strengthening one another, and consulting of their present carriage; and they drew up causes of fasts and humiliations to be kept among the people in a private way, in several little societies, as the times permitted. Sometimes the minister would in his parish call them all together a part of the day, and preach and pray

with them; and thereafter the people would repair to their several societies for prayer the rest of the day, the minister always joining with one of these little societies after another. This continued for another year; at which time the people were discouraged through want of the public ordinances. The ministers also wearied, and ceased their manner of living and preaching: and indeed it appeared that these small endeavours of an oppressed people and remnant of the ministry were not in vain, for after this matters began to grow more encouraging. For it was a holy Providence thus ordered it.

"It was before recorded that two of the presbytery had been suspended about three years before, for their declining to read the presbytery's Representation against the sectarian party. And they continuing obstinate in their opinion against the presbytery, when that party commanded in the country, these brethren were much encouraged by them, and not only had the liberty of their ministry but considerable salaries. They met along with some ministers belonging to the army, whereof Timothy Taylor, an independent, was the chief both for power, parts, learning and gravity. They had also meeting with them some old curates who had now fallen in with Mr. Taylor, and some others who were rather of anabaptistical principles. These two brethren, together with another, Mr. Thomas Vesey, who now followed their way and was minister of Coleraine, remembering the sweet society they sometimes had had with their own brethren of their principles, and now beginning to discern that party better, and having compassion on their brethren, whose bodies and spirits were much spent with tossings in the country, they made a motion to Mr. Taylor to desire a conference with these few brethren in the country, in order to a right understanding between him and them; which he and the rest with him accorded unto.

"They, therefore, wrote a letter to the brethren of the presbytery [in December], in which, after fair [illegible]d brotherly language, they invite the brethren to appoint a time and place of meeting with them; when they should spend the day in fasting and prayer, in order to a right understanding among them in matters of controversy relating both to [illegible]mmon-

[illegible] books, nt of [illegible] c. XIV.

wealth and other matters; and thereafter that they should immediately fall upon an amicable brotherly conference upon these matters, to give or receive satisfaction: and the commissioners of the revenue who then governed the country, whereof colonel Venables was one, being made acquainted with this proposal, they promised a safe conduct, that if there were no agreement these ministers should be 'in statu quo prius.' This letter was sent by Mr. Jeremiah O'Quin, to be delivered to Mr. Anthony Kennedy, of Templepatrick, and he was commissioned to confer with him anent the time and place of their meeting. But Mr. Jeremy could not find any one in Templepatrick, though the place where he was bred, where he before had been in great reputation and had much acquaintance, to tell him where he might find Mr. Kennedy; wherefore he was forced to leave the letter to its venture. It came, however, to the brethren's hands, upon which they met together; and after consultation with prayer to God, they resolved they would not nor could not meet these brethren 'primo instante' in the exercise of fasting and prayer till they knew them better: Some of them they had never seen and were of principles professedly contrary, others of them, being under censure of the presbytery yet untaken off, they would not countenance at all. However, they wrote a letter back declaring they were willing to meet with Mr. Taylor and Mr. Weeks, (36) two ministers of the army, and confer with them. They named the day and place, at Antrim, in March, 1652, which was near four months after the date of their letter.

[36] The name of this minister was more correctly, Wyke; and from the following order of the commissioners of state, it appears that he had been sent into Ulster a very short time previously.—"Dublin Castle, 3rd October, 1651. It is ordered that Mr. Andrew Wyke, minister of the gospel, do forthwith repair to Lisnegarvey and Belfast, to preach the word there, and in such pl·ces in Ulster as colonel Robert Venables, colonel Arthur Hill, and col·el Robert Barrow, or any two of them, shall apprehend to be most condr· to the advancement of Jesus Christ." MS. Ext. from Council B *ut supra*. Mr. Wyke resided at Lisburn, and received an endowme £120 per annum, which was afterwards raised to £140. See App. N.

"These ministers having received the letter which intimated the day and place, they gathered together all they could persuade who were inclining toward their way of independency or anabaptism, in the whole county of Antrim; and the brethren who had fallen from the presbytery came along with them. Though Thursday was the day appointed, they met there on Tuesday, and kept Wednesday wholly in public preaching in the church. On Thursday morning there was preaching also, and a very throng congregation. The seven brethren of the presbytery, being near Antrim on Wednesday at night, came into the town on Thursday morning; and finding there was preaching in the church they also went in among the crowd. It was Mr. Weeks that was preaching. This gentleman perceiving these ministers coming in, he immediately in discourse to the people did indirectly reflect on them as troublers of the country and dividers of God's people; but there he did profess they would be forced to stop, alleging to the people Rev. iii. 9. This was the first entertainment these ministers got instead of their brotherly conference. But immediately after ending the sermon and prayer they had another 'salve,' which was somewhat affronting and very surprising to them. The people were warned by the same Mr. Weeks to be present in the hall at the castle immediately after dinner, to hear a dispute between these gentlemen (as he called the ministers present and now in the eye of the people) and us, meaning Mr. Taylor and himself. At this time neither himself nor Mr. Taylor had ever seen these ministers, nor they them; nor had ever any intercourse but that one letter before mentioned. But Mr. Taylor hearing these were young men, and knowing himself to be of a considerable standing, and not unlearned; and long before this having put forth a book in print in vindication of independency, (37) he thought to surprise the country young men and affront them before the people as not able to defend their cause; and bring the independent way into credit in the

[37] See Note (16) of this chapter.

could not exercise their ministry orderly as formerly, and though their stipends were sequestered, yet they, changing their apparel to the habit of countrymen, travelled in their own parishes frequently, and sometimes in other places, taking what opportunities they could to preach in the fields, or in barns and glens; and were seldom in their own houses. They persuaded the people to constancy in the received doctrines, in opposition to the wild heresies which were then spreading, and reminding them of their duty to their lawful magistrates, the king and parliament, in opposition to the usurpation of the times; and in their public prayers always mentioning the lawful magistrate.

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with them; and thereafter the people would repair to their several societies for prayer the rest of the day, the minister always joining with one of these little societies after another. This continued for another year; at which time the people were discouraged through want of the public ordinances. The ministers also wearied, and ceased their manner of living and preaching: and indeed it appeared that these small endeavours of an oppressed people and remnant of the ministry were not in vain, for after this matters began to grow more encouraging. For it was a holy Providence thus ordered it.

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country in opposition to presbytery. Mr. Weeks concurred with him thus far; but being an anabaptist he had a further design than Mr. Taylor, but was much more unable to follow it, being void of human learning, never educated that way, but a tradesman and imprudent.

" After the summons to a public dispute before the people, unexpected by the ministers, coming out of church they met Mr. Taylor and Mr. Weeks at the door, and saluted each other without more words; but they refused to take by the hand those brethren who had fallen from the presbytery and were now joined with the sectaries. Instead of going to dinner, however, they went together to a room in a private house with some few of their friends who had been present at that sermon, to consider what to do, and they resolved not to dispute. After the two brethren [Taylor and Weeks] had dined in the castle, they sent one to the ministers to desire them to come to the dispute. The people were now gathered; and indeed the people, having such public warning upon such an unusual occasion, did readily throng into the place. The brethren returned an answer they could not dispute, but were willing to discourse with Mr. Taylor and Mr. Weeks, according to their own proposal, in private. They replied, there must be a dispute since the people were advertised; otherwise they would publicly declare to the people that the ministers would not defend their own cause.

" However the ministers went down to the castle, and had first a meeting with the two brethren in a chamber, and discoursed with them of the unreasonableness and unfairness of their carriage, thus to take advantage and bring men to a dispute, not only without any previous warning of any such thing, but who knew not so much as what should be the subject-matter of their dispute. They desired only that they might agree upon the points in debate, and let them be now formed into theses, and they were willing to debate with them to-morrow morning. But nothing would do save a present dispute, as the people were gathered, and would, without that, be disappointed. They would dispute on nothing

but what they commonly taught and owned. And so they went down stairs to the common-hall, where the people were gathered very throng, and where were a long table and forms set for the ministers, and a chair at the upper end of it. There masters Taylor and Weeks sat down, and cheerfully looked to one another. They spake to the people saying—' It seems these gentlemen will not come to dispute and defend their cause.' Meantime the brethren staid in the chamber, and those who had joined with the sectaries staid with them, persuading them to that dispute, and telling them there was no fear. Yea, Mr. Jeremy O'Quin offered himself to undertake it, if the brethren would allow him. In the mean time one of their friends came up and besought them, as they regarded the credit of the profession, to go down and answer those men; for they were triumphing. Upon this message the brethren, without any further deliberation or discourse, hastened to the place: and one of them, Mr. Patrick Adair, whom the rest had been speaking of among themselves to entertain this debate, and who had entertained most of the discourse in the chamber, did, with a kind of animosity and resolution unusual to him, step into the chair and set himself down there, Messrs Taylor and Weeks sitting below upon a form. On this Mr. Taylor made a motion to Mr. Weeks that a brother should pray before the dispute begun, which Mr. Weeks motioned to the brother in the chair. Mr. Adair readily yielded to the motion and prayed, and then sat himself down in the chair waiting what further step the brethren would make toward the dispute.

" Mr. Taylor then rose up and delivered before the people a discourse elaborate enough, and cunningly contrived to commend independency, and disgrace presbyterian government. In this he stated the question between the one and the other, made the independent opinions more plausible to the common people, as to the constitution of their church-members, their tenderness in their walk, the freedom of God's people in that way without any thing like tyranny over their

consciences, not measuring their congregations by mearings of land but by godliness, not taking in all the promiscuous multitude to be partakers of all ordinances, &c. &c. After Mr. Taylor had thus discoursed near to an hour, he sat himself down and said no more. Upon this, the brother who sat in the chair [Mr. Adair] rose up, and first spoke to the people, declaring the occasion of our coming there; that it was upon a brotherly letter from those gentlemen, pointing at Messrs Taylor and Weeks, to a private and amicable conference, which now they of themselves, without their consent, had turned to a public dispute; that they knew not what should be the matter of their debate till now; and that therefore they were not fitted to dispute upon such weighty matters off hand, especially with such a grave man as Mr. Taylor. But as Providence seemed to call them to say something for presbyterial government, and the constitution of our churches, in opposition to the independent way, they would now, as they could, answer what Mr. Taylor had said: and they besought the people, if their cause were not well managed by them, not to attribute it to the weakness of the cause but to theirs, and partly also to that indirect way which had been taken with them to come to a public dispute.

"Upon which Mr. Adair then turned to Mr. Taylor and told him, that, not having known what should be the ground of his discourse before he heard it, and having no theses from him to found a debate on, he could not so exactly mention all that Mr. Taylor had said; only some few heads he observed, and mentioned them. The first and principal being anent the constituent members of theirs and our churches: they were for visible saints, or such as in ground of charity had positive holiness,—we took in all those who were willing to profess the truth and be subject to Christ's ordinances. And thus, Mr. Adair laboured to overthrow Mr. Taylor's pious-like opinion; and evidenced the way of constituting the visible church, not only by the constant practice of all the churches of Christ since the Apostles' times, except Donatists, Anabaptists, &c., but also by the way of consti-

tuting churches both under the Old and New Testaments; wherein Mr. Adair instanced the first church formed by Moses, thereafter in the times of David and the prophets. Mr. Taylor gave some answer to these instances, which were readily replied unto; the truth is, Mr. Taylor did not speak much after his elaborate discourse. Mr. Adair, who most spoke to him, being irritated by his unfair carriage and drawing them to a dispute under so much disadvantage, spoke with a confidence and animosity which Mr. Taylor expected not from a youth otherwise not endued with that gift. But it was owned by Mr. Adair to be more God's special hand at that time giving light and courage, than any personal ability in himself. Thereafter, another brother began to debate the business with Mr. Taylor a little between themselves more quietly. And in the meantime Mr. Weeks proponed an argument to Mr. Adair in a direct syllogism, which was easily answered by a distinction to which Mr. Weeks had no reply; nor did he propose another argument, for he had not been taught syllogisms. When he became mute, Mr. Taylor turned from the other brother with whom he had been discoursing, and said to Weeks, 'What is become of your argument, brother?' After this Mr. Weeks looked angry and bashful, but gave no answer. At this Mr. Taylor again proposed that one should pray. He himself being desired to do so by the brother who had prayed before, he prayed, and therein gave thanks to God for the moderation that had appeared in that debate. He seemed to take the brethren's carriage well, and so they parted. But those who favoured that way, who had been brought there of purpose to hear the brethren of the presbytery affronted and disputed out of their principles, declared much dissatisfaction with Mr. Taylor's management, and said he had lost his cause. The people who favoured the poor ministers returned much confirmed and rejoicing. One of them, a very pious gentleman, said to Mr. Adair, that when he heard Mr. Taylor's first discourse, wherein he set forth the independent way with all its seeming advantages, he was like to be taken, till he heard those pious-like pre-

tences answered from Scripture, and the constitution of God's church opened both under the Old and New Testament.

"The brethren, having a safe-conduct sent them in order to this meeting with the other ministers, parted fairly with them. They ventured to return to their congregations more confidently and openly than before, no man forbidding, for a little time. This little respite, as a fruit of God's special providence, and the news of this dispute went to Scotland and reached the brethren there. Shortly after [in June] there came over Mr. Archibald Ferguson, minister of Antrim, who had a letter from Venables upon a request by my lady Clotworthy, mother to Sir John Clotworthy, a worthy matron, and who with her whole family had been of a long time not only favourers but avowed friends of the way of God. Mr. Andrew Stewart, minister of Donaghadee, being then in Galloway, judged it also his duty to venture to give his congregation here a visit, and came over when he heard that Mr. Ferguson had been sent for." (38)

While the ministers were enjoying this short respite, another change took place in the members of the Irish government. In the previous November Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, died at Limerick; and in his room lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who had married his widow, was on the ninth of July appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and one of the commissioners for the civil affairs of the kingdom. In the following month new 'Instructions,' not differing essentially from those previously in force, were drawn up by the parliament for the guidance of the commissioners, who were, at the same time, continued in office for two years longer. (39) One of their first measures was to constitute a

38 Adair's MS.

39 One of these Instructions was, "to take effectual care for the preservation of the timber in Ireland, and to use all such ways and means for preventing the mischiefs and inconveniences by felling timber there, as you shall think fit." Com. Journ. vii. 168. The commissioners afterwards, in June 1654, complain that "no timber was left, except in very few places, undestroyed, whereby such people as have or shall come over to plant this

court of justice for the trial of all those, whether Romanists or protestants, who had been concerned in the murders which had disgraced the first breaking out of the rebellion. This court, whose jurisdiction and authority were distinctly defined, (40) sat for the first time at Kilkenny on the fourth of October. Thence the justices and commissioners proceeded to Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; afterwards to Galway, where they sat in the month of December; and subsequently into Ulster, in the principal towns of which they held their court during the early part of the year 1653, taking numerous depositions respecting the murders committed by both the conflicting parties, and binding over the deponents to prosecute the delinquents at the next assizes for each county. (41) In the month of February, 1653, the court sat in Dublin under the presidency of the lord chief justice Lowther, when the notorious Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had been taken prisoner by lord Caulfield in Ulster a few weeks previously, was tried, found guilty and executed. About two hundred criminals, it is alleged, suffered in the various provinces by the sentence of this court of justice. (42)

Of the commissioners who now administered the affairs of Ireland, the majority were decided adherents of the baptist portion of the sectaries. Several preachers of that rising sect had been already introduced into Ireland; who pro-

land might build unto themselves convenient habitations." They therefore proposed that as the navigation act prohibited the Dutch from importing timber, it might be repealed so far as related to Ireland, in order to promote the speedier "planting of the land." Thurloe, ii. 404.

40 The reader may see an abstract of the commission in the speech of lord chief justice Lowther at the trial of O'Neill in Dublin, as given by Borlase, page 305.

41 The commissioners sat at Coleraine and Carrickfergus in March, 1653.

42 Not being able to obtain access to the documents necessary for investigating the proceedings of this court, I have been compelled to rest satisfied with the meagre account in Heath, p. 322-3, which has been implicitly followed by all subsequent writers, but which, I am quite certain, is by no means correct.

pagated their peculiar tenets with intolerant zeal, and spread dissension among the independent churches wherever they settled. Among these, the most forward was Mr. Thomas Patient, who had accompanied Cromwell's army as one of its chaplains, and resided at head-quarters, at Kilkenny in 1650, and at Waterford during the following year. (43) In January, 1652, the baptists of the latter city wrote to the friends of their cause in Dublin, urging them to withdraw from the ministry of Mr. John Rogers, who presided over an independent church erected in the preceding October, and exhorting them to hold communion with those only who had received adult baptism. This letter is signed by Patient and twelve others, and effected a breach in Mr. Rogers' church which worshipped statedly in Christ church cathedral, Dublin. (44) Mr. Rogers was a very remarkable man, of curious rabinnical learning, but filled with violent prejudices against the presbyterians. He is described as an anabaptist and notorious "fifth-monarchy man;" (45) but, though adopting the political principles by which the baptists were then distinguished, he certainly, while in Dublin, opposed their characteristic dogmas on the subject of baptism. In a singular work which he published in May, 1653, after he left Dublin, he records the experiences—some of them sufficiently fanatical—of nearly forty individuals, of whom the half were females, who had joined his church in the metropolis. Among these are the experiences of Thomas Huggins and John Bywater, preachers of the gospel, publicly detailed at St. Bride's church in October, 1651; and of colonel Hewson, the governor of Dublin, major Manwaring, and several other officers of the army. (46) Not long after the arrival of

[43] Brooke's Puritans, iii. 425.

[44] Rogers' Beloved, &c. 302.

[45] Wood's Ath. Oxon. ii. 442.

[46] This book is entitled, "The Beloved, or the Bridegroom going forth for his Bride, and looking out for his faire one, &c. &c." Lond. 1653, pp. 565. Rogers, while in Dublin, received the appointed salary of 200*l.* per annum, paid "tax-free and without fail quarterly out of the treasury of

Mr. Rogers another independent teacher of considerable promise, Mr. John Murcot, settled in Ireland. He had been minister in Cheshire, where he had probably been known to Mr. Taylor of Carrickfergus. Through the influence of the latter, in the year 1651 he received an invitation "under many hands" to settle with the army at Belfast; but he preferred proceeding to Dublin, where he arrived in the latter end of that year. (47) He was afterwards directed to accompany the commissioners of the parliament in a visit which they paid to Cork in April, 1653. (48) Here he remained during two months, and was the means of inducing a Mr. Joseph Eyres to become minister of Christ church in that city, in addition to two others, Dr. Edward Worth and Mr. Hackett, previously settled there or in the neighbourhood. While in Cork, Mr. Murcot and Dr. Worth were challenged by a Doctor Harding, a baptist preacher residing at Bandon, to a public disputation on the subject of infant baptism, which took place on Thursday the twenty-

revenues." He rejoices in this state-endowment, as not troubling him "with the thing called tithes, nor with parish cures." Epistle to the Commissioners, page 28.

47 See his life prefixed to a volume of his Discourses published after his death, with this title, "Moses in the mount, or the beloved disciple leaning on Jesus's bosom: being a narrative of the life and death of Mr. John Murcot, minister of the gospel and teacher of the church at Dublin." Lond. 1657, pp. 695. He was a young man of great piety and zeal; and died in Dublin on the 3d of December 1654, in the thirtieth year of his age. Dr. Winter attended him on his death-bed, and preached his funeral sermon in presence of Fleetwood and the council of state, with the mayor and civic authorities. He was buried in St. Mary's.

48 The order of council for his proceeding to Cork is dated April 14, 1653; the following is a copy of it. "It is ordered that Mr. John Murcot, minister of the gospel, be desired forthwith to repair to Corke, there to exercise his gifts in the worke of the ministry, and at such other places near adjoining where he shall find his labour to be of use for propagating the gospel; and that during his abode in those parts all due encouragement and countenance may be afforded to him." MS. Ext. from Council Books, *ut supra*.

sixth of May, 1653. (49) In this year it appears that baptist churches, though consisting of very few members, had been organized at Dublin, Kilkenny, Wexford, Clonmell, Waterford, Cork, with some friends at Bandon and Kinsale, Limerick, Kerry, and Galway. They had as yet made little progress in Ulster; the only notice of their adherents there being the following:—"In the north, near Carrickfergus, are several lately received by brother Read, who were baptized by brother Patient, who we understand are valuable, but want some able brethren to establish them." (50)

When Fleetwood came to Ireland in August, 1652, he was accompanied by Mr. Christopher Blackwood, another baptist preacher; and one of his first acts was to displace Dr. Winter from the office of state-preacher to make way for Patient, who was now chaplain to Jones, one of the commissioners. (51) At the same time Mr. Patient was placed as minister in Christ church in room of Mr. Rogers, who, annoyed by the favour shown to these sectaries, had removed to London. (52) Blackwood resided for a short time at Kilkenny; but was afterwards "fixed with the congregation at Dublin,

[49] Murcot's Life, *ut supra*, pp. 18—21. Dr. Edward Worth had been dean of Cork before the rebellion, but he now acted with the sectaries and renounced the worship and government of the established church. Like the other episcopalian ministers in the north, as well as in the south, he re-conformed at the Restoration; he ultimately died bishop of Killaloe. It is curious to observe that not a word is said in Harris's Ware of his tergiversation in professing himself an independent during the protectorate. After the disputation mentioned in the text, he published a small work, printed at Cork in 1653, entitled, "Scripture Evidences for baptizing of infants of covenanters." Ware's Writers, p. 159. See App. No. XIV.

[50] Ivimey's History of the English Baptists; i. pp. 240, 1. From the list of ministers endowed by the Commonwealth in 1654, it appears that Mr. John Read, the baptist preacher here referred to, resided statedly at Belturbet, and received a salary of 120*l.* per annum.

[51] Brooke's Puritans, iii. 425.

[52] At Mr. Rogers' departure he received from the council of state the following certificate, preserved in the Council Books. "Dublin Castle, 22d March, 1651-[2.] Whereas Mr. John Rogers, minister of the gospel, was

and Mr. Patient appointed as an evangelist to preach up and down the country." (53) Another of Fleetwood's favourites, Mr. Claudius Gilbert, was settled as pastor of the church at Limerick. Influenced by these violent preachers, who denounced in the strongest terms the tenets of the presbyterians, the new deputy and commissioners resolved to make another attempt to silence the ministers in Ulster, still opposed to the authority of the commonwealth; or to remove them, if obstinate, out of the country, to make way for the predominance of their favourite sect. They appointed certain persons, styled commissioners of the revenue, to visit this province, and carry their intentions into effect. With this view a correspondence was opened in the month of October with the members of the presbytery, whose number had been augmented, as already stated, by the return of several brethren from Scotland.

"Immediately after Mr. Stewart's coming over to Donaghadee, which was in the latter end of summer, 1652, there were letters sent to the several brethren, and to him also, from those who governed the country at that time, called the commissioners of the parliament, that they desired a meeting and conference with them on the twenty-first of October at Belfast, to advise how the gospel may be preached without disturbing the peace of the commonwealth, which they were informed some ministers still continued to do, as well as for begetting a greater uinity and better understanding. This was subscribed by colonel Venables, Arthur Rawdon, and

sent over and recommended to us by divers worthy members of the council of state for preaching the word of God in Ireland, where he hath continued for the space of months, and being now desirous to return for England, we thought fit to certify whom it may concern that the said Mr. Rogers during his residence here hath been painfull and industrious in the work of the ministry; and we shall be glad that such laborious faithful instruments may receive encouragement to repair to this land for the refreshing of poor souls, and for the propagating and carrying on the interest of Jesus Christ there." MS. Extract from Council Books, *ut supra*.

[53] Thurloe, iv. 90.

Tobias Norris, at Belfast, October the sixteenth, 1652. The brethren on receipt of these letters immediately acquainted one another, and appointed a meeting amongst themselves at Comber the day before their appearance at Belfast; where they easily supposed a new trouble was coming their way in order to their carriage to the present government. Therefore they seriously advised and debated what length they ought to go in pleasing their governors in order for liberty for preaching the gospel; and drew up a paper somewhat to that purpose, declaring that, though they could not own the government as lawful, nor bind themselves by any oath or subscription to it, yet their only calling and aim was to preach the gospel to their congregations; and that for their part they were upon no intention of insurrection or disturbing the peace, and they were confident the rulers had no ground to apprehend any such thing of them.

"After they had agreed among themselves what to stick to, they came next day to Belfast; and were immediately sent for (Mr. Taylor &c. being messengers) by the commissioners, before whom they appeared, [Thursday] October the twenty-first. After the commissioners had discoursed a little to them according to the contents of their letter, the brethren, being demanded what they would do, gave in the paper they had drawn up. This being immediately before dinner, they again appeared before the commissioners after dinner; and having appointed one of their number to speak the mind of the rest of the commissioners, they fell upon the debate of that paper they had given in, viz. whether they would take the ENGAGEMENT, or at least the negative part of it, which was to act nothing against the commonwealth of England, as now established, without king or house of lords. Upon this they debated for five or six hours without intermission. The commissioners received no satisfaction from what the ministers could condescend unto; and next morning appearing again they could do no further. At this the commissioners were

much offended, and some of them spoke bitterly to the brethren, and particularly to the brother [Mr. Adair] who had been mouth for the rest. Yet at that time they thought it not fit to use severity; and therefore they dismissed them to their places with a command to appear again within six weeks, and in the meantime to make no insurrection in the country. The brethren waived this, but promised the former. They also delivered to them a draught differing in words from the engagement, which they desired the brethren to advise upon; but it was found ensnaring.

"They were thus let go. On Monday [October 25th] they appointed a private meeting in a barn, and there Mr. Andrew Stewart is appointed by the brethren to return to Scotland, and inform their brethren, with the reverend and experienced ministers there, how it stood with them in Ireland; and requiring their advice how to carry themselves. They also sent over a copy of the paper they had given in to the commissioners, with a relation of their carriage: in all which they were approven by the worthy and reverend brethren that Mr. Stewart spoke with, such as Messrs. Blair, Dickson, Wood, &c. They [in Scotland] did not choose to give a draught, but rather thought the ministers might profess to them that they did not purpose to raise people in arms; but to live as a godly people; and to inform and prepare the people for sufferings in the maintenance of the gospel, if God called them to it.

"At this time also Mr. James Ker, who had formerly fallen off from the presbytery, and had continued in great charity toward the sectarian party for a considerable time, now desired to be re-admitted to his former society with his brethren, and gave great testimonies of his ingenuously loathing his former course. The brethren at this time gave him a favourable hearing; yet delayed his full reception until they acquainted their brethren, being the greatest number of the presbytery, now in Scotland. For that purpose, they gave commission to Mr. Stewart to acquaint them, and have their mind on it. Upon this, the brethren in Scotland did readily assent, and so Mr. Ker was received into the fellowship of his

brethren upon his declared repentance: as thereafter also were Mr. O'Quin and Mr. Vesey.

"While Mr. Stewart was in Scotland, the winds continuing contrary so that he could not return before the prescribed six weeks were completed, the brethren were again necessitated to appear before the commissioners, but still remained the same. So at length the commissioners being weary of them, and they still more weary, the commissioners proposed to the brethren that they should send one or two of their number to Dublin, to see if they could satisfy the lord-general Fleetwood and the council of officers there, wherewith they should be satisfied. The brethren, though they expected not much good from this essay, yet saw not how they could shun it, being thus proposed to them. They therefore chose Mr. Archibald Ferguson and Mr. Patrick Adair for this purpose. They gave them injunctions to make their application to Fleetwood, yet restricted them from giving them any titles which seemed to approve their present power. They were also instructed to declare that they had no mind of insurrection, but only desired to preach the gospel to a poor afflicted people, themselves being also in poverty, having their maintenance sequestered; and that they only desired liberty to preach without impositions.

"These two brethren having a pass from Venables, with a letter in their favour, as to their persons, to Fleetwood, they went [in January 1653] and met with much civility from him, and from divers of the officers, especially colonel Sankey and colonel Hewson, being men of good tempers and lovers of good men. They also met with much bitterness from others. However they obtained nothing to their purpose. Fleetwood, though in great power, took little upon him. The anabaptist faction carried most sway; and he, after divers applications to him, referred the brethren to a meeting of officers, who met in the castle of Dublin, of all sorts and sizes of them. The brethren, appearing before them, were questioned why they and their brethren would not take the engagement, nor give security to live quietly, &c. Mr. Ferguson answered, as he was enjoined, that they intended not insur-

rections, &c. It was aggredged with many absurdities that the ministers should expect protection within the commonwealth, and not promise fidelity. Mr. Ferguson replied, it might be dangerous to permit men in the commonwealth in such a case who, upon worldly and political considerations, refused; but that they were to be looked upon as refusing upon no such grounds, but merely in conscience; and that withal they were men insignificant for insurrections, and not dangerous. One Allen, an anabaptist, replied, 'a papist would and might say as much for themselves, and pretend conscience as well as they.' Mr. Adair answered, 'Sir, under favour, it's a mistake to compare our consciences with papists; for papists' consciences could digest to kill protestant kings, but so would not ours, to which our principles are contrary.' This harsh expression, reflecting on many there who had a hand in the king's murder, procured a great silence; some drawing their hats down on their faces who were in heart haters of that wickedness, and others were angry. So there was no more discourse at that time, neither were the brethren called again. But within a day or two they went to Fleetwood, who fairly dismissed them; and so they returned home with no more security than they went.

"Though the commissioners of the revenue did not own them, yet they with their brethren continued as formerly for the matter of six weeks more; at which time there were commissioners sent from Dublin to offer the engagement to the whole country. These were Dr. Henry Jones, afterwards bishop of Meath, colonel Arthur Hill, colonel Venables, and major Morgan, afterwards Sir Anthony Morgan. They remained at Carrickfergus.(54) They first sent parties of

54 From their letter to the commissioners of state in Dublin, dated from Carrickfergus on the 9th of April, it appears that they arrived at Belfast on the 1st of that month, where they were joined by colonel Hill; and on that day issued proclamations summoning all who had borne arms against the parliament to appear before them at Carrickfergus, on Wednesday the 13th of April, "to render an acccount of their affection and fidelity to the present government." They had already determined to "transplant all

soldiers to each minister's house, there being but seven in the country then as already mentioned, all at the one time, who were to search all papers and letters in their houses, and bring them along from the ministers. They being suspicious that these few ministers, who so boldly owned the king's interest upon divers occasions before themselves, must have some secret correspondence with the king's party in Scotland, though now subdued, and under that party of the commonwealth. The soldiers narrowly searched all, but found papers with none but Mr. Adair. They took from him every paper though to never so little purpose, for they could not distinguish papers; there being none among sixteen soldiers and a sergeant, who took the papers, that could read. Among the papers they took, there was one bundle which contained the presbytery's Representation against the sectaries and that party; and another declaring the horridness of their murdering the king, with other papers much reflecting on their party. This bundle they took away with them in a cloak-bag among others, though Mr. Adair had used all means to preserve it, knowing they might take much occasion against the brethren upon the sight of these papers. However they took it along in one of the cloak-bags which were full of papers. That night the sergeant kept one of the cloak-bags in the chamber where he lay, about two miles from Mr. Adair's house, and in this was that bundle. The maid of the house, hearing a report that these were Mr. Adair's papers, resolved to restore some of them to him again. And so she went in the night, when the sergeant and soldiers were asleep, and quietly brought a bundle of papers out of the cloak-bag, not knowing what papers they were. This bundle was that which Mr. Adair only cared for; and she sent it to him next morning.

"Next week after this the commissioners gave summons

popular Scotts" to some other part of Ireland; but they apply in this letter for the necessary powers and directions; and conclude by intimating their intention to proceed, in due course, to Derry. MSS. Trin. Coll. Dub. F. 3. 18. page 636.

to the whole country of both counties [of Down and Antrim] to appear at Carrickfergus, and assigned every barony or great parish their day of appearance; in each of which they pitched on certain persons to return all the names of masters of families in a list to the commissioners, to be called in order. Accordingly, the whole country generally appeared on their days assigned; and their names being returned, they put the names of the ministers first on the roll, purposely that each of them might have occasion to debate the engagement, being first called; and the people where each minister dwelt being present, this gave occasion to most of them to debate the engagement with the commissioners. This was to the ministers' hazard, yet a special means to confirm the people in their duty to the king and covenant, and guard them against it. For it fell so out that the people, who came along with the ministers, and were present at their disputing with the commissioners, wholly refused the engagement. This did much irritate the commissioners against the ministers. However they dismissed them for that week, and commanded them to return the next.

"Accordingly the ministers came, and the commissioners gave order that they should not go out of town [Carrickfergus] without their liberty; this being about the middle of May, 1653. The guards at the posts were charged to watch to that purpose. The ministers were dealt with to give some security for their peaceable carriage in the country; and never to own any other power or oppose this. They would, however, make no promises to this purpose. They were kept till Saturday [May 14th], in the evening, attending the commissioners' pleasure; and they were informed, by some who were their friends and yet who kept intercourse with the commissioners, that there was a frigate ready to receive them to be transported to England. It is certain that there was a frigate then attending for some service known to none but themselves. Notwithstanding this, they stood constant; and being called unto the commissioners they thought to receive a sad sentence, considering

what had been their bitter expressions to them before, and considering what they had heard of the commissioners' design and resolution that day. But, unexpectedly, they were entertained with much seeming favour and respect. The commissioners did a little resent their so plain disputing against their power. They especially declared their dissatisfaction with Mr. Ker, who had been, as they thought, their own so long; and now having been called to take the engagement with the people of that parish [Ballymoney], did not enter fairly to debate the business, but fell downright upon them, declaring how he had been deceived with the pretences of that party at first, for which he justly had been suspended by his brethren: and now whereas he thought they would favour the people of God, he saw the greatest malignants in the country were most in their favour, because they could turn any way for their own ends. This they did resent in Mr. James Ker more than in the carriage of any of the rest. However, they did much insinuate on the ministers, and desired they would yet resolve to live peaceably, and preach the gospel to the people, without reflecting on their powers; and so desired them to go to their charges.

"The brethren, being surprised with this kind entertainment, did very joyfully accept of it; and the more cheerfully that no engagement was sought from them, as always before. And now, wondering at God's merciful providence unto them after so long tossing, they hasted home that night, though very late, and kept the next day, the Sabbath, with their congregations in more than ordinary zeal; blessing God for that unexpected deliverance from their straits and troubles. Yet they knew not what was the particular occasion which moved these commisioners to such a change in their carriage to them. But of this, very shortly after, they had notice. It came not from any good-will in them to the ministers; but there was a sovereign Ruler ordering all things even in that confused and reeling time." (55)

[55] Adair's MS.

This change of conduct towards the presbytery resulted from important alterations in the constitution of the commonwealth, which had, in the meantime, unexpectedly occurred at the seat of government in London.

CHAPTER XVI.

Cromwell dissolves the parliament—Plan for transporting the Scots out of Ulster—Cromwell proclaimed protector—Visit of his son Henry to Dublin—Its favourable effects—Several ministers return to their charges—Dissensions in the church of Scotland—Prevented from extending to Ulster—Act of Bangor—The presbytery subdivided—Increase of ministers—Their maintenance—Sir John Clotworthy interferes in their behalf—Endowments granted by the Irish council—Fleetwood recalled—Henry Cromwell made commander of the army—Rise of the Quakers in Ulster—Proceedings of W. Edmundson—Livingston visits Ireland—H. Cromwell jealous of the presbyterians—They refuse to observe his public fasts—Two ministers wait on him in Dublin—The presbyterians narrowly watched—Instances of this vigilance—H. Cromwell appointed lord deputy—Becomes more favourable to the Scots—State of ministerial maintenance—Meeting of ministers in Dublin—Independents discontented—Death of Oliver Cromwell—General presbytery at Ballymena—Political changes in England—Henry Cromwell resigns—Presbyterians first propose to recall the king—Subsequent proceedings—Charles the second restored.

THE ambition of Cromwell could ill brook the controlling authority of the parliament. By the decisive battle of Worcester in 1651, when Charles the Second abandoned the kingdom, and after many narrow escapes sought safety on the continent, his popularity and influence became almost unbounded. Supported by a devoted and hitherto invincible army, residing with his family in one of the royal palaces, and enjoying even more than royal patronage, courted by the ambassadors of foreign powers, and his protection humbly craved by the royalist nobility, it is not surprising he should

aspire to the actual possession of uncontrolled power, and disdain the superiority of the few speculative politicians who now constituted the parliament of England. His first object was to effect, if possible, the peaceable dissolution of this once formidable assembly, which had sat without intermission from November, 1640. Through the agency of his officers, many of whom were members, and all of whom he studiously inflamed against the other members as insolent, thankless, and corrupt statesmen, he endeavoured to obtain a vote of the parliament for its own immediate dissolution. Disappointed, however, in this attempt, he proceeded to the house on Wednesday, the twentieth of April; and, after mingling for some time with apparent composure in the debate respecting the act for dissolving the parliament, which it was apparent would not be carried agreeably to his wishes, he at length gave the appointed signal, and a party of military entering the house, the members by his orders were forcibly expelled, the mace removed, and the doors locked. In the afternoon, with similar violence he dispersed the council of state; and having thus wholly abolished both the legislative and executive institutions of the republic, he vested the supreme power of the commonwealth in nine officers and four civilians, associated with himself in a new council of state.

The news of this unexpected revolution reach Carrickfergus on the day on which the members of the presbytery appeared before the commissioners. The intelligence entirely disconcerted their plans, the power from which they derived their authority being at an end. No other alternative remained than to exhort the ministers to a peaceable conduct, and dismiss them to their parishes without delay. The commissioners in Dublin, however, having cheerfully submitted to the new council of state, and the commissions of the subordinate courts having been renewed throughout the kingdom, the original design of removing 'all the popular Scotts' out of Ulster was immediately resumed. A proclamation was published by "the commissioners for the settling and secur-

ing the province of Ulster," specifying the conditions on which it was proposed to transplant the leading presbyterians in the counties of Down and Antrim to certain districts in Munster. This proclamation was accompanied with a list of two hundred and sixty persons,—including all those who, by their known attachment to monarchical and presbyterian principles, and by their station or influence, were most obnoxious to the reigning faction,—who were required, within a specified time, and under certain penalties, to embrace the terms now offered. The proposals of the commissioners for effecting this extensive revolution in the population and property of a a great part of Ulster having been hitherto unrecorded, no apology will be necessary for embodying them in the history of the province to which they refer. (1)

"Whereas the right honourable the commissioners of the commonwealth of England have commissioned us, for the settling and securing of these parts from those disturbances which the council of state did intimate unto them were like to arise here through the designs of the neighbouring highlanders in Scotland, and whereas, many persons here have (to our grief) too much confirmed those fears; in discharge of that trust reposed in us, that the good people here of the English and Scottish nation, who have manifested their good affection towards the present government, might receive all due protection and encouragement; we have thought fit, as the most probable expedient for the peace and settlement of this province, to transplant a certain number of such persons as we judge (by reason of their interest and disaffection) to be therein most dangerous, into the provinces of Leinster and

[1] A copy of this proclamation, signed by Robert Venables, Arthur Hill, William Allen, Henry Jones, and Anthony Morgan, and printed on a broadside by "William Bladen, Dublin, Anno Domini, 1653," I was fortunate enough to meet with in the British Museum. In the Appendix, No. XIII. I have inserted the list of persons annexed to it, forming a very curious and valuable document, from its exhibiting the names of the more noted and influential presbyterians then residing in the respective districts of Down and Antrim.

Munster. And that we might show our tenderness towards them (notwithstanding their present temper), and that we have no other end in this action, next to preservation of the peace in these parts, than their good and welfare; We do hereby declare, that the ensuing conditions or articles shall, God willing, be made good to the respective persons who shall be so transplanted:—

"First. Valuable consideration in land, computed as the same was worth in the year 1640, shall be allowed for the land, leases, and houses of such as shall be so transplanted, valued as aforesaid, according to their respective interests, and the qualifications under which they do fall in the printed act for settlement of August, 1652, entitled "An act for the settling of Ireland.' And to that end, persons of judgment and known integrity shall be, with all convenient speed, appointed surveyors upon oath of the value of the said land, leases, and houses of such as shall be removed as aforesaid according unto such answerable satisfaction as shall be given as aforesaid. And whilst the said surveys are making, the said persons now removing shall be possessed of such land by an estimate according to the rule and proportion aforesaid. And the places whereunto they shall be transplanted, shall be the parts of the counties Kilkennie, Typerarie, and Waterford, the barony of the Decies in the countie of Waterford bordering upon the sea, and such other parts of that countie near the city of Waterford, where they may with security inhabit, in such places as the commissioners of the revenue or other persons authorized within those precincts shall appoint.

"Secondly. The said persons shall hold such lands, if the lands into which they be transplanted be now waste, and shall pay no contribution thereout, till November come twelvemonth: after which time they are to pay proportionable taxes with the rest of their neighbours.

"Thirdly. The said persons shall be allowed what wood is necessary either for the building of new or repairing of old

houses on the said lands; and the same shall be appointed out of the commonwealth's woods.

"Fourthly. The said persons shall and may enjoy by their agents the profits of their lands they now possess till November next ensuing the date hereof. And notwithstanding that it is the custom of the country that all removers pay a year's contribution after removal in the places from whence they remove; yet for the further encouragement of the persons so removing, it is condescended that they shall pay the contribution charged on the lands they now possess in Ulster only during the time of their holding the said lands by their said agents, and not after the first of November next.

"Fifthly. The state shall, if the said persons desire it, take off all their corn now upon the ground, being made into meal, and delivered into the public stores at a market-price, and shall pay the money so due to them for it at what place they shall desire in Ireland.

"Sixthly. Convoys shall be allowed for the persons and goods of such as shall be so removed.

"Seventhly. The said persons shall and may enjoy the freedom of their religion, and choose their own ministers; provided they shall be such as shall be peaceable-minded men towards the authority they live under, and not scandalous: and such ministers shall be allowed a competence for their subsistence, suitable with others in their condition.

"Eighthly. Such of the said persons who have no title to land shall have leases, of so much as they can stock, at a valuable rent and contribution free, if it be waste when they enter upon it, till November next come twelvemonth.

"And we do further declare, that all those who have signified their willingness to remove on the conditions tendered, as also any of the rest that yet shall, by the day of June next, signify their willingness to the commissioners of the revenue of the precinct of Belfast, and give in sufficient security to remove as aforesaid, shall have these conditions fully made good to them in as ample manner as they are here

tendered: And for any other of these numbers who shall not, by the day aforesaid, so declare their intentions, and give security for performance as aforesaid, we shall, in order to the public safety, enforce them to remove into such places, with abatement in the conditions, where they may not be capable of doing that mischief which they give us much cause to believe they only want power and opportunity to practise in the places where they now are. And because such persons may not pretend ignorance of what is herein declared, we have inserted their names at the bottom of this declaration, with the names of such other persons as we find necessary to be removed for the ends aforesaid: Further requiring the commissioners of applotment in each respective quarter to make known to all and every of the said persons undernamed what is herein declared, who are to render an account to the said commissioners of the revenue of their proceedings herein, with the names of such as are, or shall not be willing to accept of the said proposals; to the end that such farther proceedings may be made therein, as shall be suitable to the purposes aforesaid. Which we do hereby authorize and require all officers and persons concerned herein to execute: Dated at Carrickfergus, the twenty-third of May, 1653."

Immediately after the publication of this proclamation, Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena, Mr. Shaw of Ballygelly, and other leading presbyterians were sent to Munster to examine the allotted lands; and other preliminary steps were taken during the summer towards effecting the proposed transplantation. "But matters in England being in a continual unsettledness through Cromwell's driving on his design for his own advancement to the supreme government, and the opposition of many in the army wholly against the government's being settled in one single person; this motion of the governors here in Ireland had no bottom to rest upon, therefore their project of transplanting the Scotch to Tipperary, &c. did evanish within a little time; and the ministers and people in this country began to have a great calm for all the former storms which they had endured. For Oliver,

coming to the supreme ordering of affairs, used other methods and took other measures than the rabble rump parliament. He did not force any engagement or promise upon people contrary to their conscience; knowing that forced obligations of that kind will bind no man. For men who are not ruled by conscience can easily break these, and shake off these obligations whenever opportunity offers: and men of conscience if they should be constrained and tempted to them, they will find themselves under a necessity to repent. Thus ministers in the country began to enjoy great liberty for their ministry; and their brethren in Scotland began to return in peace to their parishes without molestation." (2)

The violent dissolution of the long parliament was but one step in Cromwell's advance to supreme power. Not long after that event, he summoned certain persons to meet at Whitehall in the beginning of July, to whom he gave the name of a parliament; and who, he hoped, would serve as a cloak for his own ambitious projects. But the majority of the members proved to be violent and fanatical anabaptists, and he soon found them indisposed to defer to his advice. But by a dexterous manœuvre of his friends, this assembly, styled in history from the droll name of one of its members (3) Barebone's parliament, was peaceably dissolved. They resigned their power into the hands of Cromwell; who, immediately after, proclaimed himself Lord Protector of the com-

2 Adair's MS.

3 "It may be observed, for the amusement of the reader, that there were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his christian name; viz. Praise-God Barebone, Christ-came-into-the-world-to-save Barebone; and If-Christ-had-not-died-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebone; some are said to have omitted the former part of the last name, and to have called him only 'Damned' Barebone." (Granger's Biog. Hist. iii. 68.) This style of naming individuals was exceedingly common in the time of the civil wars. It was said that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in Cromwell's regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of Matthew." Wilson's Diss. Churches, i. 49.

monwealth, and on the sixteenth of December was solemnly installed in this new office, with even more than regal state.

At this restoration of the monarchy in the person of Cromwell, Fleetwood and the other baptists composing the Irish council were highly incensed. With great difficulty they were induced to proclaim him as lord Protector; though at the same time they took little pains to conceal their disappointment or repress their indignation. In the beginning of March, 1654, Oliver took the precaution of sending over his son Henry, a prudent and excellent young man of whom frequent mention will be subsequently made, to ascertain the state of parties in Ireland, and especially the feelings of the army then under the command of Ludlow, a resolute and consistent republican. He was received in Dublin on Saturday the fourth of March, with every mark of respect, by the council of state, the judges, the civic authorities, and the citizens who were not baptists. (4) He found the council unpopular and inactive; "doing very little," as he writes in one of his letters, "unless it be to make orders to give away the public lands, of which they have given large proportions to each of themselves." With respect to the army he states, they are "abundantly satisfied and well pleased with the present government in England, unless it be some few inconsiderable persons of the anabaptist judgment, whoe are allsoe quiett, though not verry well contented." And with regard to the country generally, he adds, "sober men (not anabaptists) are overjoyed with hopes that the time is now come of their deliverance from that bondage and subjection which they were in to the [council] of which I have hade large and indeed sade complaynts from all handes, and am confirmed in it upon my owne observation: the uttmost that is desired is, that all may be uppon ane equall account as to encouragement and countenance;" (5)—an obvious principle of good government, though, even yet, not carried into full operation in Ireland. During his residence in Dublin, Henry visited

[4] Thurloe's State Papers, ii. 162, 3.

[5] Thurloe, ii. 149.

the college "where he was entertained with copies of verses, speeches, and disputation;" and after a fortnight's stay he returned to England. This visit tended much to abate the violent sectarianism of the baptist faction, and to induce the council to act with greater moderation and impartiality. It reconciled many parties to the domination of Cromwell; and congratulatory addresses from the officers of the army in Ireland, (6) and from several independent congregations,—including one from Patient's church in Dublin signed by one hundred and twenty names,—were soon after forwarded to him, under the style and title of "His highness the lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." (7)

[6] Nickolls' State Papers, pp. 144, 5. This address is signed by 110 officers, and is without date; but it was evidently drawn up on this occasion, when there was a general council of officers assembled in Dublin during Henry Cromwell's stay. See Thurloe, ii. 150, and 213.

[7] The address from the church at Limerick under Gilbert, signed by himself and eighteen others, and dated, "12th month, 25th day, 1653," i. e. the 25th of March, 1654, may be found in Thurloe, ii. 117, 18. That from the "church of the baptized christians in Dublin" under Patient, the most prominent of the baptist teachers, may be found in Nickolls, pp. 148, 9. The observable change in the temper and proceedings of the council, consequent upon H. Cromwell's visit, had its effect in thinning the baptist congregations, and moderating the violence of their teachers. It is stated in a letter from Dublin of the 5th of April, only a few weeks after his departure, that the opposition of the anabaptists was at an end, and that "a stranger would never believe there had been any difference; unless upon the Sabbath a congregation may be discerned of which Mr. Patience is pastor from whose church those in profitable employment daily do decline." Thurloe, ii. 213. Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to subjoin, from the same letter, an account of the hardships and difficulties incurred in planting the lands in the southern province. "As to the nature of a plantation it thus remaines as neere as I can discerne; every planter runnes two hazards, of his owne losses and of other men's, his neighbours; and I think I shall now unfould an enigma to you; for certainly noe man's industry can so secure him but that the ill husbandry of his neighbour may undoe him; for admitt a proportion be taxed uppon a whole hundred, if any prove unable to pay, theyr goods are seized and their persons imprisoned, and the entire tax continued uppon the rest, and soe to the last man without any dis-

The beneficial effects of this visit extended also to Ulster. All attempts to extort an oath of fidelity, or to punish those who had refused the engagement, were abandoned. The presbyterian ministers in the country were permitted to officiate without any restraint; and those who had either fled to Scotland, or been transported thither by Venables, successively returned. Adair thus notices the gradual amelioration, which now so providentially occurred, in the circumstances and prospects of the church. "The first beginning and day-break of liberty to this poor church of Ireland seemed to be the dispute at Antrim already mentioned. After this, the few ministers were not prohibited preaching, though vexed with their appearances for a while before the commissioners of revenue. Thereafter the lady Clotworthy, a noble and religious matron, did intercede with colonel Venables, for liberty to her minister, Mr. Ferguson, to return to his church; which being granted, Mr. Andrew Stewart at Donaghadee did also hazard a visit to his congregation, though without licence, and upon that account was not checked by the commissioners. He returned [to Scotland] after a while, and staid till the rest of the brethren came over; having a commission from his brethren in Ireland to consult with the gravest ministers in Scotland anent their present case, and have their judgments upon divers questions as to their carriage under present circumstances:—especially as to their carriage towards usurping powers. Unto all this, after a time, they had satisfying answers, very little differing from the way they had been led in before.

"After this, the rest of the brethren returned from Scot-

tinction of persons or nation. I talkt with a gentleman within thes few hours, lately a captain in the army, who married and entered uppon a farme rented of the state (such lands not being exempted from tax unless excepted in the lease); his stock being a hundred head of great cattle was in a year and halfe, meerly by tax, reduct to six cowes; which also at last were taken and he imprisoned, and hardly gott leave, by pawning his debentures, to come up to Dublin to sue for relief. This is a case so much resembling a romance, that it is not to be related but between friendd and friend." Ibid.

and with passes from the English government there; and when they returned, they presented themselves to Venables. Some of them also going up to Dublin, procured a present maintenance to themselves without any conditions asked or given, but that they had the free exercise of their ministry. For Cromwell then being at the helm, and his son-in-law, Fleetwood, being deputy of Ireland, he did labour to ingratiate all sorts of persons and parties. Besides, Fleetwood, though inclining to anabaptist courses, was no enemy to the presbyterian party, and a man of much charity to all who had profession of godliness. Upon this favourable reception by those in power for the time, the brethren thought it their duty to fall about the duty of meeting together presbyterially, as they had formerly done: which they did publickly and frequently without any restraint from the powers, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; and for a while only in the houses of one another, where all the rest met, and brought their elders, who were fit and willing, always along with them. They met at Templepatrick, Cairncastle, Comber, Bangor, &c. for a while, till at last they settled their meetings as before. This was in the year 1654, when this poor church had a new sunshine of liberty of all ordinances, and much of the blessing and countenance of God concurring therewith in those congregations where ministers had been planted.

"Yet as it is usual in like cases that God's goodness to his people generally enrages his enemies on all hands, there was in the country not only a standing power of the sectarian party, anabaptists, &c. but the old episcopal party who now, when the power was out of their own hands to afflict the presbytery, did insinuate on those who had power, as they did now with the sectaries, to incense them against that liberty the ministers had, as also against their discipline and public solemnities at communions, &c. and besides, suggesting that these their meetings were dangerous to the state, and that they had therein their consultations for strengthening their own faction. This so wrought with an anabaptist

governor, colonel Barrow, then in the county of Down, that he became highly incensed and jealous of these meetings, and resolved to use his endeavours to obtain an order for suppressing them. It fell out that at a communion in Portaferry, there was an English gentleman from King's county, an independent in his opinions, waiting there for a passage to England; and though it was not his principle to join with presbyterians in their public worship, yet, being there, he wished to see the fashion. Being present at the whole work, he was so taken with it, and saw so much of the power and presence of God with his servants and people, that he, on his return to colonel Barrow, his acquaintance, professed he never saw more of God in an assembly of people:—yea, he questioned if God was so much among any people as among these presbyterians in this country. Colonel Barrow, being a man pretending to much piety, and, though of anabaptist principles yet not of a malicious disposition, from this time had more respect to the ministers, and used not his interest to suppress their liberty in the country. Besides, he thereby got a better character of the malignant informers. Thus this poor church, being in a great measure restored to former freedom, and enjoying their ministers who had been banished, the Lord so countenanced their labours that many other congregations, in places of the country that had not been planted before, began to seek for ministers to be settled among them. In general, these motions from new places were well accepted by the presbytery, who resolved to concur with the people. But, in the entrance, there fell in some difficulties upon occasion of their different opinions in Scotland, most young men there siding with the one party or the other."

The two parties into which the church of Scotland was now divided, were bitterly opposed to each other, and by their dissensions almost every synod and presbytery was distracted. This lamentable schism originated in certain resolutions adopted by the commission of the church in December, 1650, and in March, 1651, and subsequently approved by two

general assemblies, by which the church unhappily sanctioned the admission of royalists and other enemies to the religious rights of the kingdom, into places of civil and military trust; in order, as it was plausibly urged, to unite all classes in support of the claims of their covenanted sovereign, Charles the Second. This sacrifice of principle to a temporary expediency, by entrusting the defence of their dearly-bought liberties to the bigoted upholders of despotic measures, both in church and state, was highly offensive to a large portion of the more zealous ministers and elders, who protested against the constitution and proceedings of the superior courts that had sanctioned the obnoxious resolutions. These two parties, distinguished by the names of resolutioners and protestors, carried their disputes to a deplorable extreme. They refused to hold communion with one another, and each denounced the highest censures against their opponents. This distracting controversy was at its height when the Irish ministers were obliged to fly to Scotland; and, had it not been for their singular prudence and forbearance under divine guidance, the same unhappy schism would undoubtedly have been introduced into Ulster, "alienating the hearts of the godly one from another, and marring the work of God in it." Adair thus narrates the judicious proceedings of the brethren at this critical conjuncture.

"The Irish ministers, being settlers in divers presbyteries [in Scotland] of divers judgments as to this controversy, did incline to those opinions of which their respective presbyteries were; and thus they became divided among themselves, insomuch, that those of the protesting opinions joined with the presbytery where they were, in emitting protestations and testimonies against the public actings of the commission of the church in Scotland and other judicatories of that church. Upon this, the commission of the church, in their public papers, reflected on the whole exiled ministers of Ireland as meddling with things which did not belong unto them. These public reflections on the ministers from Ireland, by the standing judicatories of the church of Scotland, did put

these brethren upon unanimous thoughts of meeting amongst themselves from the divers places where they were; that upon mutual conferring they might, if possible, agree among themselves, and walk orderly and harmoniously as became strangers in a divided church. They first met at Ayr, where their former acquaintance and heart-warming they had in Ireland did revive. After long and serious communication among themselves, they found the hazard of their present divisions among themselves, not only as rendering them more obnoxious to exceptions and reflections where they at present were, but being also hazardous that if, through God's mercy, they should return to their charges in Ireland, they might carry as much of a strange fire in their skirts as might kindle division in that little church, and make irreparable rents among themselves. Whereupon they entered upon a conclusion which had afterwards good influence on their appearance after their return to Ireland, that, whatever were their different apprehensions as to these differences in Scotland, yet all of them should forbear practically engaging in these divisions, but keep themselves free from divisive fasts, paper-subscriptions in either party, and from synods or presbyteries which divided among themselves and had gone to different parties; which was the immediate consequence of these sad differences at that time. After this conclusion thus unanimously adopted among themselves, they kept correspondence thereafter; and for keeping it up, they resolved to meet once a month at Maybole that they might have a good understanding of one another; and confer not only of their own carriage in their exiled condition, but in order to the case of Ireland and their own return, as God should offer opportunity. These meetings of the brethren at Maybole did continue till their return to Ireland, not without mutual refreshment and good fruit." (8)

When the favourable measures of Cromwell's government

[8] Adair's MS. One of these meetings, held November 2d, 1653, is noticed in "Presbyterian Loyalty," page 302. It was attended by the Rev. John Greg, Thomas Hall, Fergus Alexander, Anthony Shaw, and William Richardson.

opened a door for the return of the exiled ministers, the utmost prudence and vigilance were necessary to guard the church in Ulster from the introduction of the same ruinous schism. "For some brethren," as Adair relates, "who had lately come over being of the protestors' opinion, had invited one or two young men of the same opinion to come over, and had employed them in preaching without acquainting their brethren of the presbytery. The most of the brethren here, not being of these opinions and hearing of this, did resent the practice as disorderly and dangerous; especially there being the whole country of the Lagan to be planted, except the two brethren, Mr. Hugh Cunningham and Mr. William Semple, who had been in Scotland and favoured the protestors, and other two who had lurked in the country and were easily drawn to their opinion. The presbytery apprehended they might plant that country and the Rout with persons so fixed in the protesting way as to found a division between ministers of that part of the country and the rest of the brethren; and to provoke ministers who were of the other opinion to deal as vigorously for men of their own opinions. Upon these considerations the body of the presbytery declared to those brethren their disorderliness, and told them that such practices could not be borne with.

"However, another meeting was appointed at Bangor, where all the brethren met; and before their sitting down, some jealousies and animosities began to appear between these two parties of brethren who came from Scotland; notwithstanding that before their coming over they had come to a good understanding one with another, and resolved to continue so. The few who had been left in the country were unconcerned in the difference; therefore the brethren coming together to the place of meeting, which was the church of Bangor, one of these brethren, whom neither party did mistrust, was by common consent chosen moderator. Immediately he, having been made acquainted with the present case by some of the brethren of both parties, proposed a committee to be chosen of more experienced brethren to

bring in overtures to the presbytery, in order to establish unity among themselves and for planting new congregations. This being assented to, the moderator, according to custom, made a list equally of both parties, viz. Mr. Drysdale, Mr. Cunningham, and Mr. Semple, who were all of the protesting opinions; and Mr. Greg, Mr. Stewart, and another of the other side, who were also approved by the rest. They, together with the moderator, were to meet for preparing these overtures. This accordingly they did; the rest of the brethren going through other business in the presbytery in the mean time. The brethren did calmly consult of their present case and hazard of division among themselves, and what mischievous consequences it might bring to this church; as well as of the dangerous consequences of bringing over young men from Scotland and settling them ministers, who were fixed on contrary parties and factions, which might lay the foundation of a constant rupture in this church, which the Lord in mercy had hitherto kept entire and in great unity and uniformity in affection, principles, and practices. They therefore agreed upon some overtures to be presented to the rest of the brethren, and which were readily assented to, and presbyterially concluded by them [on Wednesday the second of August].

"The first overture, called the ACT OF BANGOR, was that as to the brethren present, though some differed in opinion from the rest, yet there should be no mutual contestings about the differences in Scotland among themselves, nor any owning of them on either side in public preaching or prayer, nor in conference among the people, as siding with one party more than another. But whatever mention might indirectly be made of these divisions, it should be in order to healing them in Scotland, and praying for that end, and for preventing them among us, among whom there was not even an imaginary ground for such divisions.

"The second related to the planting the church with men from Scotland. On this subject the presbytery resolved; first, to endeavour for men of abilities for gifts of learning and prudence, knowing that there are many enemies and

observers of ministers of our persuasion in this country, so that men need abilities to answer enemies on all hands, and a walk so as to convince gainsayers, and bring a good report from them who live without. Secondly, that they should be pious; knowing that other qualifications without this are not usually blessed in the ministry, and that men, living in this country among so many troubles and where there is no discipline, had need to be fixed on godliness, and have some savouriness in their carriage in order to a bond on people's consciences, though they have no external power. Thirdly, that they should be peaceable, that is, not violent in either of those ways now debated in Scotland; but, whatever were their private thoughts, they should be of that temper as to be submissive to their brethren, and not trouble this church with their opinions.

"The third related to the sending and applying for such learned and godly men to Scotland. In order to this, the presbytery ordered: First, that no congregation should send to Scotland for a minister without acquainting them. Secondly, that the presbytery should appoint some brethren to write to the gravest ministers of both judgments that they would give the persons commissioned from their respective parishes their advice, in order to obtaining pious and peaceable young men. Thirdly, that none should be received here but such as had the recommendation of worthy ministers of both sides. Fourthly, and that thereafter none should be admitted but such as, after trial and approbation otherwise, should engage and subscribe to this peaceable deportment called the Act of Bangor.

"The presbytery also determined that not only the young men from Scotland should have sufficient testimonials from learned and godly men there; but they resolved to take special trial of them themselves before they allowed any parish to give them a call, first by private conference with some brethren appointed for that purpose, to know what they had read and what stock of learning they had, not only in those points taught in the philosophy colleges in Scotland, but also how they had improved their time after that, whether in col-

leges of divinity, or, if they had not that opportunity, how they improved their time otherwise as to grounding themselves in positive divinity, and studying common-places in controversial divinity and church history, and what acquaintance they had with the Bible. They were furthermore appointed to preach not only in that congregation which might have an eye to them, but in congregations near the same bounds, in order that both ministers and the more knowing of the people might have some taste of their gifts. This narrow scrutiny seemed then necessary, considering so many congregations were now calling for ministers, and that some young men came over of their own accord, though not without some testimonials and recommendations from worthy ministers in whose bounds they had resided, yet not altogether in the order the presbytery appointed. Besides the more that were to be admitted, there was the greater need of narrow searching lest new places should be planted with insufficient men, whereby people, who were but coming in to the gospel and not confirmed in it, might have been at first entry stumbled, and the Lord's work in these places hazarded. It is true some did come over according to the order, and yet proved not sound hereafter, as appeared when the troubles came. When young men had thus come over and passed their private sorts of trials, then the brethren being satisfied with them did concur with the parishes who called them, and put them upon ordinary public trials in order to ordination and settling them in that particular place, according to the common method and order; unto which was usually added, at the time of their ordination and before imposition of hands, that they declared their adhering to the solemn league and covenant, and that they were put to subscribe the Act of Bangor, which was kept on record. (9)

9 The following is a copy of this Act which I found in the Minutes of the Lagan Presbytery, and which all their candidates signed, in common with those of the other meetings. "The presbytery ordains that as we have unanimously resolved not to foment the present differences in Scotland in this church, but to forbear the very discourse of them which may tend

"The Lord blessed these endeavours of the presbytery very signally. For many young men were brought from Scotland by degrees, all of them with the testimonials required, and professing their willingness to live peaceably without owning the differences in Scotland. Yea, both the brethren who had been here before and those coming over of late had a merciful harmony in every thing, and no noise among the people of any differences which so divided the church of Scotland, but to regret them. And it is observable, that the most grave, experienced, and godly ministers in Scotland of both sides, did much approve this way that the presbytery took to prevent their own divisions; as all of them testified to the brethren of Ireland who occasionally went to Scotland about these times, not one of them disapproving their prudent measures.

"The number of ministers in planted congregations growing and considerably spreading unto all parts of the north of Ireland, it was found that the presbytery could not all meet together in one place where formerly they had done from the first beginning of church-discipline in these parts. Therefore the presbytery found it necessary that there should be three different meetings in different parts of the country, for the better and more speedy carrying on the work of God in divers counties, and taking order with scandals in these parts, and concurring in matters of discipline as particular congregations should require their help. And withal that these distinct meetings should take trials of entrance within their particular bounds, upon their finding the calls clear to congregations. These MEETINGS were not constituted into presbyteries strictly so called, as acting by power in themselves. But they acted by commission of the whole presbytery met to-

to altercation, and to discountenance the same in others; so also, that intrants shall oblige themselves to the same orderly walk in this respect; and that hereupon none that shall be found to be sober, godly, and able, shall be opposed in his entry, whatever be his judgment in relation to these differences." To it there is appended the following note:—"The manner of the obligation is found in the Presbytery-book to be by registrating their consent therein."

gether; their commission being drawn and subscribed by the clerk of the presbytery for what they did. These committee-meetings had power only to visit empty congregations; to dissuade people from hearing hirelings; to erect and give advice to sessions anent scandalous persons and their repentance; to try what duties ministers and elders performed in their charges; to see what care congregations took to maintain ministers; to inspect expectants' testimonials coming from Scotland; and, if approven, to license them to preach till the presbytery met, but not in relation to trial; to preach and censure doctrine at their meetings; to take account of one another's diligence; and to divide the controversies of the times among themselves. But on the other hand, they were not to enter expectants upon trial in reference to congregations till the presbytery was satisfied with their testimonials; nor were these young men to be ordained till the presbytery should have report and satisfaction concerning their abilities after trials were passed. Thus the work of the presbytery was facilitated by these meetings commissioned by them. They were called the meetings of Down, Antrim, and Route with Lagan.

"It may be here remarked, that in 1657 a further sub-division of the presbytery took place. The meeting of Route supplicated the presbytery to be disjoined from Lagan. This was for the sake of convenience accordingly done; and shortly after another meeting was formed in Tyrone, so that there were five meetings.[10]

[10] These five meetings or presbyteries continued without any change until the year 1702, when nine presbyteries were formed, which have been subsequently augmented to twenty-four, the number at present constituting the General Synod of Ulster. I have examined a small volume containing the minutes of the meeting of Antrim, from October 1654, probably the period when they first met as a separate body distinct from the general presbytery, until May 1658. The first meeting was held at Ballycarry and is entitled, "The visitation of the kirk of Braidyland, kept October 11th 1654." Great complaints were made of the difficulty of securing the maintenance of Mr. Cunningham, and of the other ministers whose parishes were visited in succession. Mr. Ferguson of Antrim died in December

"Besides, the gospel spread into divers counties and places of the North of Ireland, where the purity and power of ordinances had never been known before; such as Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, and Cavan, beside a further enlargement of the gospel in Londonderry. Though there was not above twenty-four ministers planted belonging to the presbytery in the year 1653, yet they had multiplied to near eighty within a few years thereafter; even in the sight and to the angering of their adversaries on all hands, viz: the old episcopal party who then complied with the prevailing party, and the anabaptists and other sectaries who then had special influence upon all affairs. This was the hand of God covering a table to his people in the sight of their enemies, and making his wonderful work to appear and prosper in the hands of a few despised and hated men, even under the feet of those who lately before had been their persecutors, driving the most of them out of the country and the few that were left

1654, and Mr. Somerville, minister of Ballyclare, a short time previously. The first ordination was that of the Rev. Gilbert Simpson, at Ballyclare, on the 9th of August, 1655, "on bonds securing him £40 for the first year, £50 yearly thereafter during the sequestration [of the tithes,] and £60 yearly after the removing of the sequestration; with £4 yearly in lieu of a glebe and £20 in hand for building a manse." On the 15th of the same month the Rev. John Douglas was ordained at Broughshane; and on the 28th, the Rev. Thomas Crawford at Donegore, where Captain James Adair and lieutenant Robert Ferguson had previously satisfied the presbytery as to the amount of his maintenance, which was much the same as that secured to Mr. Simpson. In 1655, the vacant congregations were Antrim, Carnmoney, Islandmagee, Glenarm, Connor, Drumaul, Ahoghill, Clough, and Loughgeel. There were no presbyterian ministers permitted to reside at Lisburn, Belfast, or Carrickfergus; these being the army-quarters and served by baptist and independent teachers. On the 21st of May, 1656, the Rev. John Couthart or Cathcart was ordained at Drumaul, and in July, 1657, the Rev. James Shaw at Carnmoney; and at the period when these minutes close Mr. James Fleming was on trials for Glenarm on bonds for 60*l.* a year with a manse and glebe; Mr. John Shaw for Ahoghill; and Mr. Robert Dewart for Connor; all of whom were ordained during the year 1658. The Rev. Robert Rowan was soon after settled at Clough, and the Rev. Andrew Rowan at Loughgeel, or Armoy. There were seventeen congregations under care of this presbytery.

into corners. And it ought never to be forgotten how in this poor church from the beginning of planting the gospel in it, that, though the sovereign wise God thought fit to let loose the enemies of the power and purity of the gospel, so far against its servants and people as to persecute and drive them out of the country, for a testimony and sealing of the truth with their sufferings; yet the same faithful and wise God did shortly after take up the possession of the land with great advantage. Thus it was in the prelates' times; thus it was in the sectaries' times, as appears by this narrative; all which we are only to ascribe to God's goodness, and tenderness to his work, and people, and poor servants.

"Meantime the ministers had no settled maintenance. Those who after a while's suffering and want here had been banished to Scotland, were, during their abode there, provided for with the legal maintenance of the parishes there in which they supplied. Those few who were left in Ireland, beside their hazard from their persecutors and many other inconveniences, had nothing allowed them now for full five years [from 1649 to 1654] except what the people under the burdens and oppressions of strangers could out of their poverty spare them. And though for new intrants the presbytery obtained some better conditions from the parishes that called them, than they got for themselves who had been called before; yet the conditions were but small, and in most places scarcely able to afford any comfortable subsistence. In this case Providence ordered that Sir John Clotworthy came from England into these parts to visit his mother, and to order the estate and things for the family whom he was to bring over shortly after. Mr. Adair having occasion to discourse with him in order to providing a minister for Antrim, Mr. Ferguson being now dead, Sir John inquired how the ministers in this country were maintained in this juncture of affairs. Mr. Adair in reply gave the account just related. Upon which that worthy gentleman did much regret the case of the ministers, and proposed to Mr. Adair that, if the brethren would send one or two of their number to Dublin along with

him, whither he was shortly to return on his way to London, together with some from the country to represent the case of ministers to Fleetwood and the council there, he would use his endeavours to obtain maintenance for ministers who were known to be worthy. Upon Mr. Adair's acquainting his own meeting and that of Down with this motion, Down chose Mr. Stewart from the ministers, and captain James Moor from the country, to repair to Dublin for this end; and Antrim chose Mr. Adair from the ministers, and desired captain Langford from the country, that they might attend Sir John Clotworthy, and be advised by him. Accordingly they all went except Captain Langford. (11)

"In this negotiation Sir John first applied to Fleetwood without their counsel, and to some other members of his acquaintance, from whom he had fair promises of their concurrence with his desires. The motion was from the country and not from the ministers themselves; and the only desire was to take off the sequestration that now had been of ministers' maintenance for these five last years. Thereafter the motion was brought before the council. In it there were men of divers complexions, some of anabaptist opinions who carried much at that time, and were no good friends to presbyterians. Others were politicians designing to bring ministers under an undue dependency on the state for their livelihood. Therefore they proposed to give the ministers a competent maintenance out of the treasury, and that quarterly. (12)

[11] I find it stated in the "Minutes of the meeting of the brethren of Antrim," at Ballyclare, on Wednesday the 4th of April, 1655, that "Mr. Adair was absent at Dublin on public concernments;" which corroborates the text, and fixes the date of this transaction.

[12] A few months before this meeting, Fleetwood had thus communicated to secretary Thurloe his views on the subject of tithes and the maintenance of ministers: "The other business which I shall mention is about tythes, which I understand is endeavcured by some to be continued in the old way. And though in my owne judgment I little scruple the payment thereof, yet knowing that it hath bine a bone of contention, I could wish it might be otherwise settled heere—besides, if it should be continued as formerly, it wil be a meanes to keep in many a wicked man in severall parishes who

This being considered by the ministers, who did not appear before the council, but waited for what might concern them in this affair, they declined such a way of maintenance, but desired they might have their legal maintenance belonging to their respective parishes; though almost none of these maintenances were of near equal value to what the council proposed. They gave into the council's hands the reasons of their so pleading; which some of their number, having first seen in private, did much approve of. They were not however sustained by Fleetwood and the council. Sir John, being present before the council, pleaded for the ministers' paper, and conducted it with much affection to the ministers, and magnanimous zeal to have them provided; with some express reflections on the present course of that time, where unlettered mechanics and inferior officers of the army, being anabaptists, were largely provided for out of the public treasury for their ignorant preaching and seducing the people. But they had such a reverence for him that they overlooked what he said, and yet stuck to their own point. They returned the ministers this answer, that they would not allow them any other way of maintenance than by salary, according

must, where the tythes are but small, (as before,) keepe an ale-house. But if wee may have libertie to collect the tythes and bring them into one tresurye, as now wee doe, we shall be able to maintane a gospel-ministry in Ireland; and by this meanes they having dependance on the state for their maintenance, we shall be able to restraine some troublesome spirits, which may bee too apt to give disturbances to the publique peace, of which there have bine sad experience in the North; and 'tis doubted that most of them continue their old bitter spirits." Thurloe, ii. 733. And again, within a few weeks of the interview with Sir John Clotworthy, he says—"I understand that there is endeavours to settle the business of tythes *in statu quo*, which if so, what betwixt the Scotch clergie and other ignorant and unable ministers, will quickly returne this nation into its former condition of ignorance." March 28, 1655. Thurloe, iii. 305. The tithes, however, continued to be paid into the treasury, as appears from the annual accounts of the Protector's government among the Records of the Irish Exchequer, which I have examined in the Record Office, Dublin. The tithes payable into the treasury for the year ending November 1st, 1654, out of the county of Antrim amounted to 1625*l.* 12*s.*, and out of Down to 1272*l.*; while the

as some of their profession in the Lagan and the Route had already. (13) For these brethren, having been of the opinion of the protestors in Scotland, had obtained this way of maintenance previous to this motion of Sir John Clotworthy, and before the brethren of Down and Antrim had moved for themselves. (14)

bishops' rents for half a year at the same period, amounted in Antrim to 61*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in Down to 40*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* The sum paid to ministers and schoolmasters in the counties of Down and Antrim for six months, from the 25th of March to the 25th of September 1654, was 863*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, or about 1700*l.* per annum.

[13] It is surprising how little is known of the administration of Irish affairs during the Protectorate. The inquirer who consults the ordinary histories of the kingdom for information on the subject, in reference either to the civil, military, commercial, or ecclesiastical branches of the government will be wofully disappointed. In relation to the last of these, the ecclesiastical, with which alone I have to do, I have endeavoured to obtain as ample and authentic information as my limited opportunities of research permitted. I was particularly anxious to ascertain the nature and extent of the state endowments to the clergy, and if possible the names and salaries of the several ministers; and in this inquiry I happily succeeded. I have in my possession two lists, one for the year 1654, the other for 1655, containing the names of all the ministers throughout Ireland who received salaries from the state, with the sums payable to each. The former list I owe to the kindness of Sir William Betham; to the latter I had access among the state papers in Dublin castle, and as it is the fuller and more complete list I have inserted it in the Appendix, No. XIV. with a few additions from that for the previous year. I find in these lists the names of only six ministers known to be presbyterians; viz. two in the Route, Messrs Ker and O'Quin, who had formerly joined the sectaries; and four in the Lagan, Messrs Cunningham, Drummond, Semple, and Wills or Wooll. This fact strikingly corroborates the statement of Adair in the text. The list given in the Appendix contains the names and residences of above one hundred and fifty ministers; and the sums payable to them for that year amount to nearly 13,000*l.* the whole charge of the civil establishment being only 29,000*l.*

[14] Here Adair digresses to give a sketch of the personal history of Sir John Clotworthy from the time of Strafford, to his imprisonment by the Rump parliament in 1649, which I deemed unnecessary to insert in the text, the principal incidents having been related, as they occurred, in the preceding part of this work. It is right, however, to subjoin the reason why Sir John, the uniform opponent of the sectaries, was respected by the council and permitted to speak so openly and faithfully. This privilege, it ap-

"After the ministers had waited a considerable time, and were wearied with attendance, not only on persons in power but whom they could not own as lawful powers, and in pursuit of a desire so contrary to the designs of those in authority, they returned and communicated their endeavours and answers to their brethren: who, though they saw it inconvenient to pass from their legal way of maintenance, and it was much contrary to their inclination to have any dependence on an usurping power, yet they considered it necessary that ministers be maintained. Their legal maintenance had been taken into the treasury, the tithes being then farmed by commissioners for that purpose; and had been thus violently sequestered by powers then uncontrollable. They considered too that what they got from the treasury was but getting their own again, and that it was still a maintenance out of the tithes that were due to ministers. The people too, under so much oppression, were not able to bear further burdens, both lying under the weight of an army and paying tithes to the commissioners. To which was added this inducement that there was no proposal of any terms or conditions made to

pears, was owing not only to their knowledge of him as an able statesman, and a peaceable, upright, and religious man, but also to his personal acquaintance with the protector. "Cromwell," says Adair, who doubtless derived his information from Sir John himself, "had a great respect for him, not only on account of his parts and noble qualities, but also for particular obligations. For before Cromwell came to the preferment of being a captain of horse, being a man of parts and great profession of religion, and a gentleman by birth, Sir John had been instrumental in his advancement and command in the army, not presaging that thereafter he would come to that height as to detain him his prisoner for adhering to that cause which they at first undertook. However, we owe that respect to Sir John to look on him, in his way with that party, as a person of great magnanimity and honesty, not stooping to them; and yet of that prudence as to improve that respect they had for him towards promoting the good of the church and people of God where he was." I have not succeeded in discovering the precise date of Sir John's discharge from prison; he was probably liberated, either at the passing of the act of oblivion in February, 1652; or when Cromwell had dissolved the parliament and usurped the supreme power in April 1653.

them upon which they should have this maintenance; but being a free gift, without any shadow of a snare in the manner of receiving it. Upon all these considerations they concluded to accept of that proposal, and were accordingly paid for two years by the treasury at Carrickfergus, and none excluded who sued for it. There was still a considerable number that received not this salary; because being then but new come in to the country and entered upon their trials, this way of maintenance was changed before they were settled." (15)

Not long after this temporary arrangement had been concluded with the Irish council, Henry Cromwell was again sent by the protector to reside at Dublin, ostensibly to command the army, in which he had formerly served under his father; but in reality to watch the motions of Fleetwood, and to control the selfishness and bigotry of the baptists who still composed the majority of the council. Though continued in the office of lord deputy, Fleetwood was soon after recalled, and left Dublin with his wife and family in the beginning of September. (16) "He was too much an anabaptist to carry on Cromwell's designs, now when he was aspiring to settle the supreme government in himself and posterity after him. For the anabaptist principle was against a single person; and Fleetwood, being more addicted to his opinions than to his politics, could not homologate with his father-in-law in these designs; on which Cromwell called him a milksop. The truth is, that, except his delusion with these ana-

[15] It appears from the Montgomery MSS. (page 235,) and from Appendix, No. XIV., that several Irish bishops also, who were in the country, received salaries from the treasury out of the rents of the bishops' lands. Dr. Maxwell, bishop of Kilmore, who twenty years before had libelled the presbyterians in his latin verses, (see vol. i. p. 204) complimented Henry Cromwell, when lord deputy, for his liberality, in an ode commencing in this fulsome strain:—

'Deliciæ humani generis, mitissime Prorex!'

The Leslies of Raphoe and Down accepted pensions of 120*l.* per annum each from Cromwell.

[16] Thurloe, iii. 728.

baptist principles which then bore sway in the army, he seemed to be a person of great candour and of good inclinations in the main. He was much given to secret prayer, of a meek condescending disposition, especially to those who were supposed to be godly; and so much of a seeming self-deniedness that he appeared not fit for the government, especially of an army so difficult to rule, and of a whole kingdom in such reeling times. These, his good qualities," adds Adair with becoming candour, "I have borne witness of from some experience of them; and, besides I have the same from the testimony of other judicious persons who knew him better."

Henry Cromwell arrived in Dublin, as 'major-general of the army in Ireland,' in the beginning of July, 1655; and was accompanied by his chaplain, Mr. Francis Roberts, an independent. To counteract the influence of Patient and the baptist preachers, he brought over several other independent ministers, whom he settled, either as fellows in Trinity college, or as preachers in the city churches. (17) Of these, the more eminent were Dr. Thomas Harrison, who officiated in the cathedral of Christ-church; Stephen Charnock, author of the valuable work on the Divine Attributes, who became a fellow of the college and a preacher in St. Werburgh's church; and Mr. Samuel Mather, who was also a fellow, and in the following year was ordained as colleague to Dr. Winter in St. Nicholas' church. (18) The indepen-

17 Of these churches Dr. Winter, the provost of the college, occupied that of St. Nicholas; and Mr. Robert Chambers that of St. Patrick. Some time after the settlement of the ministers mentioned in the text, the Rev. Edward Baynes was placed as preacher in St. John's, and the Rev. Samuel Cox, a presbyterian, officiated in St. Catharine's. See Calamy's Cont. i. p. 83, 4.

18 Mr. Mather was ordained by Dr. Winter, Mr. Taylor of Carrickfergus, and Mr. Jenner of Drogheda, on the sixth of December, 1656. He was the teacher, and Winter the pastor, of the church. Com. Journ. vii. 695. Besides the independent ministers formerly noticed as settled at Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, I find a Mr. Cuthbert Harrison, preacher at Lurgan, from 1653; and in Baxter's life by Sylvester (fol. B. i. p. 169,) there is a letter to Baxter in the name of the associated churches in Ireland,

dent teachers in the other parts of the kingdom warmly congratulated Henry on his arrival. Taylor, of Carrickfergus, in particular, wrote a very flattering letter to him "in the name of the church of God which is at Carrickfergus, with other godly and sober-spirited men in these parts," in which he alludes to the overbearing conduct of the baptists headed by their evangelist Patient, and rejoices in the prospect of their insolences being checked. "We account it," he writes, "a special mercie that God hath taken of your father's spirit and put it upon you; and sent your honour as a healer of the breaches in this divided nation; wherein the overflowing interest of those that endeavoured (what in them lay) to null all churches, ordinances, and ministers (not to say magistrates also) which were not baptized into the same spirit and way with themselves, had almost, like a land-flood, carried all before it. In this healing worke your lordship can hardly deal with soe tender a hand but the impatience of your PATIENTS may expose your honour to misrepresentations and reproaches; but bee of good courage, my lord, for your worke is with the Lord and your reward with your God." (19)

In the same proportion as Henry was flattered by the independents, his mind was filled with jealousies of the presbyterians. In the November after his arrival in Dublin, apprehending opposition to the government both from the leading Scots in Ulster and the disappointed and mortified baptists, (20) he wrote for directions how to deal with these par-

dated from Dublin, July 5, 1655, and signed by Winter, Gilbert of Waterford, Ed. Reynolds, J. Warren, and Thomas Osmonton, ministers, but their places of residence are not given. From Appendix, No. XIV. it appears that Mr. Reynolds was settled at Kilmallock, and Mr. Osmonton or Osmington at Ross.

[19] Thurloe, iv. 286-7. The church at Wexford under Robert Hobbs, pastor, also addressed Henry Cromwell to the same effect. Ibid. p. 270-1.

[20] Various complaints of the hostility and disaffection of the baptists during the latter part of this year occur in Thurloe's State Papers (iv. 197, 314, 327, and especially 348). The following extract from a letter by Mr. Thomas Harrison, the independent minister who had come with Henry

ties. His father, in reply, observed that the discontent of particular individuals ought not to discourage him. "Time and patience," Oliver wisely remarks, "may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which for the present seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them—which I earnestly desire you to studye and endeavour all that lyes in you. I am alsoe thinkinge of sendinge over to you a fitt person who may command the north of Ireland, which I beleeve stands in great need of one, (21) and am of your opinion

Cromwell from England and had accompanied him in a visit which he paid after his arrival to the south of Ireland, will illustrate the religious dissensions then prevailing between the baptists and independents, and the great weight which the former party had acquired in the army. "Being at Kilkenny with my lord [H. Cromwell] the eighteenth of last month [September], Mr. Brewster, Mr. Wood, Mr. Wells [all independent ministers] and myself went solemnly to Mr. Blackwood, the oracle of the anabaptists in Ireland, complaining of their totall withdrawings from us in public worship. He alleadged the cause thereof to be our not observing the order of the apostles by baptism: nevertheless they could most of them sometimes joyne with us provided, first, that in a day of prayer they may speak last, that if any thing be spoken against God or Christ or the truth, they might have an opportunity to bear witnesse against it, and the like liberty they desired at lectures, &c. &c. Secondly, that singing of psalmes be wholly forborne, &c. &c. This man is now fixed with the congregation at Dublin, and Mr. Patient appointed as an evangelist to preach up and downe the country.—At Dublin they solemnly by excommunication delivered up to Satan a godly man for falling off, as they said, from the truthes of Christ to anti-christian errors in joyning with Mr. Winter, and for no other cause in the world. The man sat next me the last Lord's day in breaking of bread with that society, who forthwith received him upon due enquiry after their ejection of him: And yet alas how is this land shared out amongst persons of his perswasion, governors of towns and cities twelve at least, colonels ten, lieutenant-colonels three or four, majors ten, captains nineteen or twenty, preachers in salary two, officers in the civil-list twenty three, and many of whom I never heard." Thurloe, iv. 90, 1. Similar complaints of the "horrid schisms of the anabaptists" are made by Mr. Edward Wale, independent minister at Waterford in a letter to Mr. Harrison in December 1655. Ibid. iv. 314. A principal emissary of the baptists was captain Vernon, who was also quarter-master-general. Ibid. iv. 315, 328.

[12] Accordingly colonel Thomas Cooper was recalled from Scotland and appointed to the command in Ulster, in the room of Barrow a violent ana-

that Trevor and colonel Mervyn are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And, therefore, I would have you move the councell, that they be secured in some very safe place, and the further out of their own countryes the better." (22)

It was at this period that the quakers made their appearance in Ulster, and disturbed all the settled churches with their violent fanaticism. The first person in Ulster who appears to have embraced their opinions was a William Edmundson, a native of the north of England, who settled as a dealer in the town of Antrim in 1652, and resided with his brother, a soldier in a troop of horse lately removed from Waterford and quartered in that town. On one of his mer-

baptist, as shown in the next note. He arrived in Dublin in the beginning of January 1656, and reached Carrickfergus in the first week of February. He resided here till January, 1658, when he retired to London, where he died in the latter end of the year 1659. Thurloe, iii. 744, and iv. 408, 551, vi. 734. Com. Journ. vii. 804.

[22] Thurloe, i. 725, 6. This hint from his father seems to have been promptly acted upon by Henry; for Taylor, writing within a month afterwards from Carrickfergus to "the reverend my verie much honoured friend Mr. Harrison, preacher of God's word in Dublin," stated that he had lately perceived symptoms of disaffection among the Scots in Ulster, but hoped it was now "nipt in the bud by the securing some of our great men." In the same letter Taylor complains that colonel Barrow, a violent anabaptist, who had succeeded Venables in the command of the forces in this part of Ulster and who resided at Carrickfergus, had, out of jealousy, suppressed a congratulatory address to Oliver in favour of Henry Cromwell, which had been got up by lord Conway, colonel Thomas Coote, major Rawdon, and "subscribed by Mr. Robert Price and most of the chief men in Carrickfergus." It appears also that one Dix, a baptist preacher who was in Kerry in 1653 (Ivimey, p. 241) and now settled at Belfast, had visited Carrickfergus and effected a breach in the independent church under Taylor, who thus complains to his brother minister: "since I opposed Mr. Dickes his doctrine in public, colonel Barrow absents himself from the public meeting. Here is great joy among the anabaptists for the news of my lord deputie's [Fleetwood] return for Ireland. Captain Bonnel, one of the same church with colonel Barrow, went yesterday for England." In the conclusion of his letter, he requests his friend Harrison to procure a furlough for a few months for his brother-in-law John Preston, who kept the packet-boats between Carrickfergus and Ayr in Scotland at a salary of 100*l.* a year, and who had some urgent business to transact in Lancashire. Thurloe, *ut supra*.

cantile visits to England in 1653, he met with George Fox and James Naylor, the celebrated apostles of quakerism, and became a convert to their creed; and refusing to swear to the truth of his bills of lading on the arrival of his goods at Carrickfergus, public attention began to be directed to the peculiarities of this new sect. In the commencement of the year 1654 he removed from Antrim to Lurgan, where a quaker meeting, the first in Ulster and composed of seven converts, was formally established. In the following year John Tiffin, an itinerating preacher from England, made his way to Lurgan; in company with whom Edmundson began to frequent fairs and other places of public resort, and address the assembled people on the superiority of the new light; the abolition of tithes, sabbaths, and ordinances; the corruption of a settled ministry and the evil of steeple-houses; the sin of hat-honour and the iniquity of oaths. They did not meet with much encouragement among the staid and well-instructed population of Ulster.

"At this time," writes Edmundson, "but few would lodge us in their houses. At Belfast, that town of great profession, there was but one of all the inns and public-houses that would lodge any of our friends, which was one widow Partridge who kept a public-house, and received us very kindly. There John Tiffin lodged, often endeavouring to get an entrance for truth in that town; but they resisted, shutting their ears, doors, and hearts against it." (23) The next companion, with

[23] Extracted from a very curious and indeed most interesting book, entitled, "A Journal of the life, travels, sufferings, and labour of love in the work of the ministry, of that worthy elder and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmundson, who departed this life the thirty-first of the sixth month, 1712." London, 1715, 8vo. pp. 327. He was almost continually travelling among the Friends, not merely through all parts of England and Ireland, but also through North America and the West Indies, to which he made no less than three voyages between the years 1670 and 1684. In respect of his unwearied labours he was another John Wesley. The latter, in one of his tours through Ireland, met with this Journal and perused it with much interest. "His opinions," says Wesley, "I leave; but what a spirit was there! What faith, love, gentleness, long-suffering! Could

whom he perambulated Ulster, was Richard Clayton. "We published the day of the Lord in Coleraine in the street, warning all to repent: we put up several little papers which we had written in several places; one we put on the worship-house door; but the professors were highly offended, took and banished us over the water, giving charge that no boat should bring us back. So we travelled the road towards Londonderry, lodging that night in a cabin in the mountains; the next day we came to Londonderry (we travelled on foot) and got two meetings there, where several received the truth. The governor was at one meeting, where he was convinced, confessing it to be the truth that we declared, and whilst we staid he was very loving. Then we travelled to Strabane, Clogher, Omagh, and Six-mile-cross to Dungannon, so to Kilmore in the county of Armagh;" and thence to Lurgan. The next itinerants were two female friends also from England, Ann Gould and Julian Wastwood, who visited Londonderry, "having some drawings to that place; after some service done for the Lord there they travelled to Coleraine, so through the Scotch country to a place called Clough all on foot in the winter time, wading rivers and dirty miry ways." Here one of the sisters took ill, and Edmundson, guided solely by the inward light, discovered them at Clough and conducted them with much difficulty to Connor, and thence by way of Carrickfergus and Belfast to his house at Lurgan. These well-meaning but violent sectaries spread more extensively through the southern than the northern part of the kingdom; and by their vehement denunciations against the ministry and the magistracy, and their refusal both of oaths and of tithes, at length drew upon themselves the

mistakes send such a man as this to hell? Not so. I am so far from believing this, that I scruple not to say, 'Let my soul be with the soul of W. Edmundson!'" Wes. Journ. iv. 229. In one of the recommendatory testimonies prefixed to this book, dated from Lurgan, the fifth of the seventh month, 1713, and signed on behalf of the 'Provincial Quarterly Meeting for Ulster,' by Robert Hoope and Alexander Seaton, it is stated that "the first meeting of Friends in this nation was in Lurgan." Pref. p. xviii.

notice of the council of state. Directions were accordingly issued to the municipal authorities of the several towns, especially in the southern province, to imprison the more noted of these itinerants, and transport them to England. These orders, little consonant with the boasted tolerance of the independents, were executed with much unnecessary and unwarranted rigour, and subjected many individuals to severe sufferings. (24)

The course of affairs under Henry Cromwell now moved on very tranquilly. His moderation and firmness gained the confidence of the more bigoted anabaptists; (25) and the independents (26) and presbyterians pursued their respective

[24] In the year 1655, when the quakers were first subjected to civil penalties in Ulster, seventy-seven imprisonments occurred, and nearly 50*l.* were extorted from them, 'besides goods taken unvalued and several large fines imposed.' But these severities gradually abated, and during the next four years only thirty imprisonments took place. See a small book, entitled, "A compendious view of some extraordinary sufferings of the people called quakers, both in person and substance, in the kingdom of Ireland; from the year 1655 to the end of the reign of king George the First. By A. Fuller and T. Holms." Dublin, 1731. 8vo. pp. 135. For the orders of the council against them, see Warner, ii. p. 271.

[25] In October, 1656, Henry Cromwell, writing to secretary Thurloe, says—"I have since my returne bin more courted by the anabaptists than formerly. Mr. Patience and some others, whoe had not bin with me of a longe time before, came to vissit me, and expressed much as to their satisfaction with my management of thinges here." Thurloe, i. 731.

[26] In June, 1656, an address was published by Winter's church, in Dublin, declaring their cordial approbation of Henry and his government, on the following grounds:—"1. For his equall justice to all, and mercy to the poore. 2. For his prudent and loveing carriage to all that feare God, though of different judgments; endeavouring to preserve unity and love amongst them. 3. For the countenance that himself and family gives to all God's publike ordinances, by theire constant and reverent attendance on them. 4. For the respect, countenance and encouragement, that (in a speciall manner) hee gives to all the godly ministers of the Gospel. And wee doe also declare, and that upon good ground, that generally all the sober-minded christians throughout this whole land, are of the same mind with us herein." This address is signed by Sam. Winter, pastor, with D. Hutchinson and Thos. Hooke, elders, both mentioned in the next note, and forty-one members of the church; among whom are John Price and

objects in peace. Shortly after his arrival all parties cordially concurred in sending contributions, amounting to nearly eleven hundred pounds, to the protestants of Savoy, then cruelly persecuted by their Roman catholic sovereign. (27)

During this season of repose and religious prosperity, when 'the churches had rest throughout all the land, and increased in number daily,' the indefatigable JOHN LIVINGSTON once more, and for the last time, visited Ireland. During the previous winter he had been earnestly pressed to remove to Ulster. "The parish of Killinchy, in Ireland," he states in his Life, "where I had formerly been, sent a commissioner once and again with a call to me to return to them. (28) If I could have obtained fair loosing, my mind inclined somewhat to have gone, because of the present distractions in Scotland, and because that I thought Ireland had more need and more appearance of success. The synod of Merse and Teviotdale refused to loose me, and five or six ministers in other parts, on whose judgments I relied, dissuaded me; only they advised me that I should first make a

Gamaliel Marsden, at that time fellows of the college. Nickolls' State Papers, pp. 137, 8.

27 In the "Distinct and faithful account of all the receipts, &c. of moneys collected in England, Wales and Ireland, for the relief of the poor distressed protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, &c." printed by order of Cromwell, in 1658, is the following entry, the only one relating to Ireland. "1655-6, Jan. 29. Received of Thomas Hooke, late mayor of the city of Dublin, in Ireland, and of Daniel Hutchinson and John Preston, aldermen of the said city, and treasurers appointed for the receiving all moneys collected in the realm of Ireland, for the distressed protestants of Savoy, returned by bill of exchange, 1097*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*" The collection began in July, 1655. On this subject see Thurloe, iii. 612 and 710; iv. 443 and 484. The total amount collected in Britain was 38,097*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* Cromwell's vigorous and successful interference on behalf of this persecuted people was one of the noblest enterprises of his government.

28 These commissioners were, first, captain James Moore of Ballybrega, and afterwards Mr. David Moorehead of Ballymacashan. See Preface to a Sermon by the Rev. James Reid of Killinchy, entitled, "Formal Christians, and secession from them considered." Belfast, 1729, 18mo. pp. 122.

visit to Ireland. Therefore in summer 1656 I went over; and our friends in Teviotdale put themselves to the trouble to send colonel Ker, and Mr. John Smith minister at Oxnam along, to see the case of Ireland. When I came I could not get preaching in Killinchy any way as in former times; and that I took as a declaration of the Lord's mind that I should not go to settle there: yea, I did not find above two or three families, nor above ten or twelve persons, that had been in that parish when I was there. So great a change had the rebellion and devastation brought, that all almost were new inhabitants. [I staid nine or ten weeks. (29)] I preached in several parts and at some communions; and was at a great meeting of their presbytery in the north, which was more like a synod; where were thirty or thirty-six ministers, and ruling elders from sixty or eighty parishes; and that presbytery was divided in three several committees, that met apart in three several parts of the country. One of these committees had twenty or twenty-four vacant parishes which they supplied, sending two or three ministers at once to visit for two or three months, and after that others by turns. Afterwards some more ministers were placed in the north of Ireland, so that in all they were above sixty; and Killinchy was well provided by Mr. Michael Bruce. (30) During my abode in Ireland, being occasionally at Dublin, the council there urged me to accept a charge in Dublin, and offered me two hundred pounds sterling a year. But that was to me no temptation, seeing I was not loosed from Ancrum; and if I

29 This clause in brackets is taken from a MS. copy of Livingston's life.

30 Mr. Bruce, by his mother, was great-grandson of the celebrated Robert Bruce, ordained as one of the ministers of Edinburgh in the year 1587. He was induced to settle at Killinchy, by the advice of Livingston, who "sent with him an ample recommendatory letter, dated Ancrum, July 3, 1657, and directed to captain James Moore of Ballybrega, to be communicated to the congregation." Reid's Sermon, *ut supra*. Mr. Bruce was publickly ordained in the church of Killinchy, in the month of October following.

had been, I was resolved rather to settle at Killinchy, among the Scotts in the north, than any where else." (31)

During this visit, Livingston and his companion colonel Ker accidentally met with Edmundson the quaker, then imprisoned at Armagh. The latter has recorded the results of their meeting, with the marvellous though characteristic self-complacency of that well-meaning enthusiast. "About this time I was put in prison at Ardmagh for the testimony of truth before the common gaol was repaired, so I was prisoner in a little room in the gaoler's house. Though I was weak and contemptible in my own eyes, yet the Lord was with me, his power and dread was my strength and refuge. I was a terror to the gaoler and his wife, for if I had come out of my room where the gaoler was, he would have hung down his head, not looking me in the face; his wife would sometimes be tormented and cry out, for my presence was a torment to her, though I said nothing. At this time there came a presbyterian minister out of Scotland pretending to visit the churches; there was in his company one colonel Kerr; this priest came to the gaoler's house to lodge, for he kept a public-house. 'Twas on a seventh day of the week he came; I was then fallen sick and in bed. That priest lodged in the next room, so that I could hear what they said. Towards evening many presbyterians came to visit their minister, and he read a chapter and expounded it unto them, sung a psalm and prayed; after which they left him that night.

"The next morning early, being the first day of the week, colonel Kerr came into the priest's room and asked him, what was the meaning of the apostle John's speaking so much of abiding in Christ; and further asked, how we must abide in Christ? But the priest did not answer him; therefore he

[31] Livingston's Life, &c. pp. 55—7. From the minutes of the Antrim meeting, it appears that the general presbytery or synod at which Mr. Livingston was present, met at Ballymena on Wednesday the 7th of August, 1656.

was under trouble and dissatisfaction. At this the Lord moved me to rise, put on my cloaths, and speak to the priest as he went to the worship, for they passed by the door of my room. So I arose and put on my cloaths, the Lord's power strengthening me: many of the chief of the presbyterians came to accompany the priest to their place of worship. I stood in my room-door, and as he went by I asked him, 'If he were a minister of Christ?' He answered, 'Yes:' then I asked, 'What was the reason he did not understand the doctrine of the former ministers of Christ?' But he was smitten, and making me no answer, got away. So I laid down again, being sick. The next morning early, colonel Kerr came to my bed-side, saying, he heard I was in restraint for my conscience; adding, he was a man of tender conscience and sympathized with my sufferings, therefore came to see me, desiring to have some discourse with me; but he heard I was not well, yet if I would arise he offered to help me on with my cloaths. I told him I would arise and put on my cloaths, for I felt the Lord's power strengthening me. So he went out of the room; and this was but an apology to get an opportunity for the priest, and several of their elders and disputants to run me down, and to glory over truth and friends. I got up and dressed myself. Presently the priest, col. Kerr, col. Cunningham, and a great many of their leading men came into the house, more than the room would hold. I was greatly afraid of my own weakness for truth's sake; therefore I prayed to the Lord in secret for his aid and assistance, and he was pleased to fill me with his spirit, being mouth and wisdom to me; so that the Lord's power and the testimony of his blessed truth was over them. The priest was confounded in himself, and being restless went out and came in several times. When the priest had done, then col. Cunningham began with me: he was a justice of the peace and a great disputant. We discoursed of several things too tedious to mention the particulars; but the Lord's power foiled him, his mouth was stopped and he sat silent. Then was my heart and tongue

full of the word of life, to declare the way of truth to them, and they went away quiet." (32) Edmundson, it may be added, was soon after liberated. He then relinquished his shop in Lurgan, and took a farm in the county of Cavan, near Belturbet, for no other purpose than to obtain an opportunity of refusing to pay tithe, and enjoy the satisfaction of suffering for that testimony.

Though the presbyterians of Ulster were protected by Henry Cromwell in the exercise of their discipline and the observance of public worship, and though all ministers who applied enjoyed the state endowment without any ensnaring engagement, they were, notwithstanding, viewed with suspicion and jealousy. Reports of their being ready to espouse the cause of the exiled king were frequently circulated; complaints were made of their keeping up a separate interest in the north; (33) orders were issued to Monck at Edinburgh to permit no Scots to remove to Ulster without special permission; (34) and colonel Cooper, the governor of Carrickfergus and the chief in command in the north-eastern parts of the province, was instructed to keep a watchful eye on all their movements. Nor was it long before an occasion arose which brought them into collision with the ruling powers. The Irish council, following the example of that in England, frequently issued proclamations for the general observance of days of fasting and of thanksgiving. Thus, they ordered a fast to be kept on the eighth of October in Ireland, "to

[32] Edmundson's Journal, pp. 21—3. Had Livingston thought this interview worthy of being noticed in his "Life," he would doubtless have given a different version of the result. He was too experienced a disputant to be so summarily put down by the quaker. If silenced at all, it was probably by the extravagance, certainly not by the learning or argumentative skill, of his uneducated opponent.

[33] Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. 4. In a debate respecting the lands of the lords Ards and Claneboy (erroneously printed Glainboise), major Morgan stated—"In the north, the Scotch keep up an interest distinct in garb and all formalities; and are able to raise 40,000 fighting men at any time."

[34] Thurloe, iv. 374. 447; and Warner, ii. 268.

seeke a blessing from the Lord upon the councills and undertakings of his highness and the parliament," then recently assembled; (35) and the twenty-ninth of the same month was observed, by order of the parliament, throughout the three kingdoms for a similar purpose. A day of thanksgiving was in like manner appointed by the parliament to be observed in Ireland on the fifth of November, on account of the successes obtained in the war with Spain. (36) And on the discovery of Sexby's plot for the assassination of Cromwell, Friday the thirteenth of February, 1657, was ordered to be kept throughout the whole empire as a day of thanksgiving for the safety of the protector. (37) These and other similar days the presbytery uniformly refused to observe: the grounds of this refusal and the consequent interference of the state will be best narrated in the words of Adair.

"The presbytery in these parts were hardly put to it by Henry and his council to observe their public fasts and thanksgivings on account of the losses or victories of that party. The brethren, never judging themselves incorporated with them, durst not espouse their course, especially these solemn appearances before God; knowing that this government, though now flourishing and pretending some owning of religion, yet was iniquity at the bottom. The brethren not joining in these days of theirs, were narrowly observed by the friends of that party in the country, and account transmitted to Dublin. Wherefore threatening letters and full of animosity were written to the presbytery by Henry himself; and some particular brethren were charged by letters from the council to appear before them at Dublin, which they did. (38) Others were partly threatened, partly insinuated upon at home. The presbytery sent up two, Mr. Hart and

[35] Thurloe, v. 477. [36] Ib. v. 494. 558. [37] Ib. vi. 143.

[38] Henry Cromwell writing to his father from Dublin, March 25, 1657, observes, "I have lately received intelligence from severall hands that the Scotts in Ulster, and even their ministers alsoe in our pay, did decline keeping the day of thankesgiveing enjoyned by parliament for your highness'

Mr. Greg, on purpose to endeavour to allay the present fury of the governors, especially of Henry, who at first so much professed to be our friend. There after long discourse from Henry, upbraiding their ingratitude and shewing the reasonableness of the demand, Mr. Greg did plainly tell them that we could not in conscience join with them in their fasts and thanksgivings; and that it was no worldly consideration but conscience that kept us at that distance. However, this did not satisfy Henry, but rather increased his choler and brought from him harsh and threatening expressions against the whole brethren. (39) With this, these two brethren were at that time dismissed, and returned home with no account of the governors' satisfaction. Yet after that came divers orders for keeping their days upon emergent occasions, which the brethren still waived. And being again put to it, the brethren of Down particularly did give the reasons why they could not observe their days: partly considering that the causes thereof were matters which concerned that party and the carrying on their own designs in which others beside themselves were not concerned; and partly because they

deliverance; but did on the other side keep a day of humiliation among themselves, by what authoritie I know not; which I take to be noe symptome of their good meaninge. I have communicated this business to the councill in relation to that carriage of the ministers." Thurloe, vi. 143.

[39] The following account of this interview is given in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' page 301. "Mr. Greg and Mr. Hart were called before Henry Cromwell himself, and askt the reasons why they and their brethren did not observe the fasts and thanksgivings appointed by his authority. In answer to which they pleaded 'that their consciences did not allow 'em to comply with any power that was against the constitution and lawful magistracy of the kingdom.' He was much incensed against 'em by this answer, and charged 'em with ingratitude, meaning that they had 100*l.* each of them, per annum, from the government. But they never looked upon that salary as any obligation upon them to own the government; for the usurpers had taken the tythes from 'em, and after some years gave 'em that hundred pounds per annum; which they accepted of, not as a gift from the government, but as a part of their own to which they had a prior title, and of which they had been deprived by the usurpers."

were imposed by persons not having lawful power. Besides, that they were not lawful magistrates who in some cases have enjoined fasts; there was in these parts a church representative and constituted, whose duty it was to consider the causes of these public solemnities, and accordingly to call the people together to exercises of that nature. This plainness did so startle the council that it was feared he, who had once professed so much friendship, should turn an enemy. This was the special difficulty that the brethren then met with from the ruling powers."

Traces of the jealousy with which the proceedings of the Scots were viewed by the state are occasionally discernible during the remainder of this year. Two instances may suffice to show the anxious, though not vexatious, vigilance with which the least movement of the presbyterians was observed.

Thus, in the month of June colonel Cooper, while attending his parliamentary duties in London, received information that the presbyterians of Carrickfergus had invited the Rev. John Greg, who had been obliged in the year 1649 to abandon his charge there and settle in the county of Down, to become once more their minister. He immediately writes from London to Henry Cromwell in the following terms. "Having the opportunity of this messenger, I am bold to inform you of what I hear from Carrickfergus. The town it seems hath lately chosen one Mr. Greg to be their minister, and are strongly endeavouring to have him settled with them. But indeed I think it very unsafe he should be admitted into that town; he is a man of a very turbulent spirit and extremely disaffected to the present government. He was banished Ireland, as I take it, in general Monck's time; and, as I have heard, was so exceeding active against the English army that, if they could have taken him, they had matter enough against him to have put him to death. And since my coming to Ireland I have had informations divers times against him, of very seditious expressions he hath used both in praying and preaching; and the town of Carrickfergus hath many Scots in it, and the English there have too much

a Scotch spirit, by reason of Mr. Greg's formerly being their minister. I do humbly conceive that it's much for the peace of Ireland, in all towns of strength at least, no Scotch minister be admitted, except he be a known friend to the present government: and I hope your lordship and the council will not admit them into Derry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, and Belfast. And if it could well be done it were advisable that no Scotchman might live in those towns, at least for some years; for your lordship knows, there is more danger to be expected from that interest than the Irish in Ulster." (40) Colonel Cooper returned to his command at Carrickfergus in the month of September, and succeeded in obstructing the settlement not only of Mr. Greg in that town, but of other presbyterian ministers in the garrison-towns which he had specified. In the following month he took occasion again to write to Henry Cromwell respecting the proceedings of the presbytery; of whose character he appears at length to have formed a correct estimate. It seems that the Rev. Henry Livingston, minister of Drumbo, on the confines of the counties of Down and Antrim, had, in some unbecoming manner, reflected on the principles or character of some of the surrounding sects—probably of the independents in the neighbouring town of Belfast or Lisburn; and that a formal complaint of his conduct, with the depositions on which it was founded, had been deemed sufficiently important to be transmitted to Dublin. "I perceive," writes the vigilant governor of Carrickfergus to Henry Cromwell, "that the examinations concerning Mr. Leviston came to your hands, since which time there hath been a meeting of the presbytery, and have considered of the carriage of Mr. Leviston, and given him a farther reproof; and have appointed Mr. Drysdale and Mr. Hart to wait upon your lordship to give you a full account of

(40) Thurloe, vi. 349. There is little doubt that Cooper's informant with respect to these affairs was Taylor, the independent preacher, who would not much relish the idea of having a popular presbyterian minister settled either beside himself in Carrickfergus, or beside the other independents who had securely nestled themselves in the quarters of the army at Derry, Coleraine, and Belfast.

the same. I hope what hath been done may be of good consequence to teach men of different persuasions, in the things of God, to carry it peaceably towards one another. The Scotch ministers do promise very fair, and according to my observation and experience may with more ease be led than driven; and the tenderness your lordship shows them is the likeliest way to gain them." (41)

Whether the more intimate knowledge of the presbyterian clergy which Henry acquired from these communications led him to form a more correct opinion of them, or an accession of power, which was soon after conferred upon him, enabled him to act with greater freedom; certain it is, that from this period the presbyterians were treated with confidence and favour. In the beginning of November his father appointed him to be lord deputy of Ireland, and into this high office he was publickly sworn on the twenty-fourth of that month. Possessing now more ample powers, and freed from the control of the former council, several of whom were of the anabaptist faction, he employed his influence in assiduously endeavouring to promote the religious peace and prosperity of the country committed to his charge.

One of his first measures was to settle the maintenance of ministers throughout the kingdom on some uniform and stable foundation, that an additional number of efficient men might be induced to remove to Ireland. Hitherto Fleetwood's scheme of collecting the tithes into the treasury, and paying salaries to the ministers, though generally enforced in Ulster, had been only partially adopted in the other provinces. In some places the clergy collected the tithe, as formerly, independently of the state; in other places they were supported partly by tithe and partly by salaries from the treasury; and in many parts of the kingdom no adequate maintenance could be procured for a resident ministry: while the embarrassments of the revenue were such as not only to prevent the grant of additional salaries, but to delay

(41) Thurloe, vi. 563. This letter is dated from Carrickfergus, October 1, 1657.

the payment of those already granted. Under these circumstances Henry Cromwell, in the month of March 1658, summoned a number of the more eminent presbyterian and independent ministers to meet in Dublin, and confer with him on the subject of their maintenance. (42) The object of this meeting he thus discloses to his brother-in-law Fleetwood, who had doubted the propriety of altering the plan which had been laid down, "I perceive by your last (wherein you express that we have designed to alter the ways of the ministers' maintenance) that you have been fully and particularly informed of that affair. I hope (that to bring things into their proper and legal channel, and thereby to gratify the greater number both of good ministers and other persons,) to make way for the encouragement of more ministers to come over into this land, which doth so much want them; little more than a third part thereof being as yet supplied; and although it be so, the maintenance set apart for them as it is now managed falling short two or three thousand pounds even to pay this quarterly salary to those upon the place; (43) and it

42 Thurloe, vii. 21.

43 In an abstract of the whole revenue of Ireland for the years 1656 and 1657, given in Thurloe, (vi. 596-7,) it appears that the salaries for those two years to 'ministers and schoolmasters' amounted to 34,141*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* From a document in Thurloe, (v. 731,) shewing the revenue of Ireland for the former of those years, I select the following summary of the receipts from Ulster.

"An abstract of the several branches of the revenue in the respective counties in Ireland, belonging to his Highness and the Commonwealth, set this present year, 1656."

Counties.	Houses, &c.	Tithes and Glebes.	Excise.	Bishops & Crown Lands.	Forfeited and Corporation Lands.	Ferries and Fishings	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Down, Antrim, and Armagh.	3 4 0	3352 7 0	1878 2 0	524 13 4	— — —	31 1 0	5789 7 4
Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone.	- - -	3119 14 1	1198 4 0½	183 6 3	72 18 9	22 18 3	4597 1 4½
Cavan, Monaghan, and Fermanagh.	- - -	918 5 6	293 6 0	207 2 6	— — —	— — —	1418 14 0
Grand totals. . .	3 4 0	7390 6 7	3369 12 0½	915 2 1	72 18 9	53 19 3	11,805 2 8½

being impossible to improve the maintenance any other way than by putting them that are free to receive tythes in kind upon their tythes, and making other provisions for those who conscientiously scruple that way of maintenance, although they are contented that the state be their stewards to set, let, and gather the profits and themselves receive the very specifical money which ariseth out of tythes, instead of tythes in specie; which all of them have done ever since that revenue hath been put into a distinct treasury, for so it hath been now above these twelve months. I say I hope upon these and many other considerations it will not be lookt upon as an evil design thus to settle the ministers, having regard as aforesaid to those that do soberly and not wantonly scruple that way. I wish as fair a way lay open for answering the necessities of the state, as this will those of the church." (44)

The projected meeting accordingly took place on the twenty-third of April. "About thirty ministers," writes Cromwell, "have met upon my invitation in Dublin to treat about the regulation and improvement of their maintenance, which hath hitherto been carried in a mongrel way between salary and tythes." The presbyterian ministers who attended were the Rev. John Greg, then of Newtonards, the Rev. Thomas Hall of Larne, and the Rev. John Hart of Taughboyne, near Derry. The meeting continued during nearly five weeks. The subsequent measures adopted by the deputy are thus stated by Adair. "He fell on a way of restoring ministers to their legal maintenance. For this end he issued forth commissions to gentlemen in divers counties in Ireland so to mould parishes that there might be a competent maintenance for each minister, not within [below] a hundred pounds if possible. This was done in many places, and their diligence returned to Dublin and approved. And where the hundred pounds fell short in any particular parish, it was to be made up out of the treasury of tythes, by special command to the treasurer.

(44) Thurloe, vii. 129, 30.

But this, through the uncertainty of these times, came to nought before it could be well effected."

But besides this subject of ministerial maintenance Henry submitted to the consideration of the assembled ministers several other important matters. He requested their advice respecting the instruction and conversion of the Roman catholic population, the promoting of peace and unity among all godly ministers though of different churches, the due observance of the sabbath, and the suppression of heresy and profaneness. (45) During their meeting they presented to

[45] Not long after this meeting, and probably in consequence of H. Cromwell's suggestions, the ministers of the metropolis and its vicinity formed themselves into an association or synod, and agreed upon a declaration of their faith, worship and government, which they published under this ample title: "The Agreement and resolution of the ministers of Christ within the city of Dublin and province of Leinster, whose names are subscribed, in order to their entering into and walking together in a brotherly association: Had the 22nd day of February 1658 [9] at Dublin, for furthering of a real and thorough reformation of persons, families and congregations in all matters of religion according to the written word of God." Dub. 1659. 4to, pp. 14. This 'Agreement' is an attempt to combine the principles of independency and presbyterianism into one system, and is well worthy of being more extensively known than it probably is, as I had never heard of the existence of such a document till I accidentally met with a copy. It consists of five sections with copious scripture references. In the first section the subscribing ministers, whose names are unfortunately not given, "decline and abhor" all blasphemy, heresy, schism, &c. they also resolve "to disavow and with all prudence and faithfulness (as we have just occasion) to oppose popery, prelacy, (not only as it is described in the solemn league and covenant, but also as it is cried up by some in these days under the specious disguise of moderated, regulated or primitive episcopacy, and all inventions of men tending thereunto,) arminianism, socinianism, &c." In the fifth section they agree to use "the shorter and larger catechisms of the Westminster assembly, (unless some particular brother shall think some other catechism more convenient for his congregation,) that so the fundamentals of true christian religion, by one and the same form of sound words throughout the whole city and province, may be rendered familiar to both young and old, &c." In the same section they further "receive and hold fast that excellent Confession of faith comprised in thirty and three chapters, and compiled by the assembly of divines for these three nations, as their own confession of faith in all the said congregations (reserving only to

him a complimentary address, acknowledging his kindness;(46) and at the conclusion of their sittings on the twenty-sixth of May, they submitted to him a series of resolutions, on the subjects committed to them, in which, with one exception, they had unanimously concurred. "The ministers," he states in one of his letters, "that I called together about their maintenance, have this day given me a large paper in reference to several matters offered by me to their consideration; and are now returning to their respective homes parting with much love, having during the time of their being together kept a good understanding and mutual respect and tenderness one towards another; though I must tell you endeavours have not been wanting, amongst persons of no mean quality here, to blow up the coals and frustrate those good ends we aimed at." (47) Cromwell here alludes to Steele, the lord chancellor, who had placed himself at the head of the independents, and endeavoured to render them discontented with Henry's government; the strict impartiality of which was displeasing to that aspiring party. "I wish," observes Henry, writing in the month of June, "I could truly say that the independents are not dissatisfied. It may be some of them thought they should ride when they had thrown the anabaptist out of the saddle." But he very properly adds, "I must neither respect persons, nor parties, nor rumours, so as to be thereby diverted from an equal distribution of respect and justice to all; though I hope I shall always have a due care

some of us our liberty of judgment about a few expressions touching discipline laid down in that Confession); it being a form of sound words very consonant to the holy scriptures, and of special use both for preserving of the purity and unity of the faith amongst us, and for obviating of both old and novel errors."

46 This address, with the signatures of nineteen ministers attached to it, I discovered among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. As it is an interesting document and has never been printed, I have inserted a copy of it in the Appendix, No. XV.

47 Thurloe, vii. 145.

of all (under what form soever) in whom I see the least appearance of godliness." (48)

From the prosecution of his plans for the improvement of Ireland, Henry was soon diverted by the political changes consequent on the unexpected death of his father. Oliver Cromwell died at Whitehall on his favourite day—the third of September; (49) and his eldest son Richard was proclaimed in Dublin on the tenth of that month as his successor in the protectorate. On this sudden change in the government, Henry immediately and earnestly applied to be relieved from his charge in Ireland; (50) but, owing to his influence over the army and his general and growing popularity, his services could not be dispensed with. To induce him to remain, his brother raised him to the highest dignity which the one could enjoy or the other confer—that of lord lieutenant, and on the second of November he was solemnly sworn into this important office. No change, however, appears to have taken place in his administration of Irish affairs. The kingdom continued to enjoy unusual tranquillity; and in no part of the empire did there exist a more cordial or general submission to the new protector.

This period of internal peace was diligently improved by the presbytery. The ministers were incessantly occupied in visiting remote congregations, and settling ordained pastors in the many parishes which were still vacant in Ulster. The several committees into which the presbytery was subdivided met together frequently; and wherever there appeared an opportunity, however remote, for the preaching and planting of the gospel it was cheerfully embraced. "Soon after," writes Adair, "there was a presbytery at Ballymena where all the five meetings were present, on April 8th 1659. Some called

[48] Thurloe, vii. 162. and 191.

[49] On this day he had gained the decisive victories of Dunbar in 1650, and of Worcester in 1651; and thenceforth he considered it as his lucky day. The powerful mind of Napoleon succumbed beneath a similar infirmity.

[50] Thurloe, vii. 400, 1.

it the general presbytery, and some called it a synod.(51) Here lieutenant-colonel William Cunningham, of whom we have spoken before, being then tenant to Henry Cromwell at Portumna in the West of Ireland, (52) came with a letter and message from Henry Cromwell, desiring Mr. John Greg should be sent to that country in order to planting the gospel in those bounds, where at present were only papists and a few high prelatists and anabaptists. He promised in his letter to give them all the encouragement in his power, for this end that the purity of religion and good principles might be settled among the people there. This motion was thought to come especially from Cunningham, who at that time had a considerable interest in those parts under Henry; as also divers others had, who wished their lands planted with British and sober persons; which they saw they could not so well do except ministers were settled there. Beside, where they were to have their own residences they loved to enjoy gospel ordinances under faithful ministers. The presbytery, in com-

51 Among the MSS. in the British Museum (Donat. MSS. 4275. No. 40.) is the following document in the hand-writing of the Rev. J. Boyse, an eminent minister in Dublin. The curious fact, which appears to be satisfactorily attested therein, must relate to the synod mentioned in the text, as there could have been no such meeting held in 1650, which is therefore a mistake for 1659. "Memm I heard both Dr. Gilbert Rule, Principall of Edinburgh College, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton (an ancient presbyterian minister in the North of Ireland) relate the following passage in the time of king Charles the 2d's reign, viz. That in the year 1650 [59] there was a meeting or synod of presbyterian ministers in the North of Ireland. Among whom one ancient minister satt seemingly drowsy while the rest were debating some matters before 'em. Upon which, being ask't if hee were taking a nap, hee reply'd, 'No, his soul had been ravisht with the prospect of the happy days the church of God in these kingdoms should enjoy under a Prince of Orange.' "That this passage was by the said Rev. persons related to mee some time before king Charles the 2nd's death, I do fully attest.

"June 7th 1699. J. Boyse."

52 Portumna is in the county of Galway near the river Shannon, at present the seat of the Marquis of Clanrickarde. Respecting the extent and value of Henry Cromwell's estate there, see Thurloe, vii. 15.

pliance with this motion and desire of the then chief governor, did name some of their number, viz. Mr. Greg, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Cornwall, and Mr. Wallace, (53) to visit that country for three months, to see if there appeared any hope of doing good; but only on the condition that they be provided and conducted to those places where they might be useful. But the motion was thereafter forgotten and did evanish; Henry being taken up with grand affairs, and not being confident of our brethren that they would be for his purpose, that is, instruments to engage people to his government; and the ministers who were named having no forwardness for that undertaking."

These 'grand affairs' which now occupied Henry's attention arose out of the progress of events in England, and were indeed of pressing urgency. Richard Cromwell soon proved wholly incapable of holding the reins of government that the fortunes of his father had put into his hands. The parliament, which the embarrassments of the finances had compelled him to summon in January, was hastily dissolved by him in April. The army became again predominant, and easily wrested the power out of the feeble hands of the irresolute protector. In the beginning of May the old or Rump parliament, which had been dismissed by Oliver in 1653, resumed their sittings; and the government became once more republican. On the seventh of June this parliament voted that Ireland should no longer be governed by one person, but by commissioners appointed by themselves. In the fol-

53 The Rev. John Greg, as already stated, was minister at Newtonards; the Rev. James Shaw at Carnmoney, near Belfast; the Rev. George Wallace at Holywood; and the Rev. Gabriel Cornwall at (I believe) Ballywillan, near Coleraine. I may add that Jeremy O'Quin of Billy, (also near Coleraine,) who has been frequently referred to in the preceding chapters, died on the last day of January, 1657-8. The following is a copy of the epitaph on his tombstone:—"Epicedium Reverendi Pastoris Jer. O'Quinii. —O'Quinus, pastor mollis, requiescit in urna hac; ast anima in cœlo Numinis ora videns. Exercente illius verbo sedaverat agnos Christi; jam ex vivo flumine potat aquam. Obiit ult°. Jan^{ij}. MDCLVII."

lowing week letters were ordered to be written to Henry Cromwell directing him to repair to London, and empowering Miles Corbet the chief baron, and Steele the chancellor, who had been nominated commissioners, to conduct the government until the arrival of their colleagues, Jones, Basill, and Goodwin. These letters were anticipated by Henry, who, on the fifteenth of June, wrote to the speaker resigning the lord lieutenancy; and immediately withdrew to England.(54) On the ninth of July, Ludlow, the celebrated republican, was appointed to the chief command of the army in Ireland; and for some reason now unknown, perhaps on account of his opposition to the baptists who once more enjoyed a temporary ascendency, Dr. Winter, in the following month, was ordered by the parliament "to repair into England and attend their pleasure." (55)

These fluctuations in the government were not, in the first instance, felt in Ulster. "Meantime," says Adair, the "church of Christ, with its ministers in this part of the country, being

[54] Henry Cromwell retired into private life and resided on his estate in Cambridgeshire. "Here he spent the remainder of his days, descending from the toilsome grandeur of governing men, to the humble and happy occupation of husbandry." He died there on the 23rd of March, 1674. Noble, i. 213. At the Restoration, Richard Cromwell was obliged to fly to the continent to escape his creditors. After twenty years' residence abroad, principally at Geneva and Paris, he returned to England and resided privately at Cheshunt within a few miles of London. Once when in the metropolis, curiosity led him to visit the house of lords; and being asked by one of the officers who was unacquainted with him if he had ever seen any thing like it before; "Never," he replied, "since I sat in that chair," pointing to the throne! He died peacefully at Cheshunt after all his vicissitudes, on the twelfth of July, 1712, at the advanced age of 86 years. Noble, i. 176.

[55] Commons' Journ. vii. 757. 13 August. It may be added that the new anabaptist commissioners on the 11th of August ordered lieutenant-colonel Bryan Smyth, the successor of Cooper as governor of Carrickfergus, to send up the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, who had removed to the neighbourhood of Lisburn in June 1658, to answer the complaint of one Tandy for having baptised with the sign of the cross, &c. He accordingly went up to Dublin about December; but, in consequence of the subsequent changes in the government, he was immediately dismissed.

settled on their former basis, remained in peace and liberty as much as ever; beholding their late oppressors a reeling and mouldering away, and in that fury destroying one another; and their own hands bringing to ruin that which they had, for a while, been building on iniquity. While in the mean-time congregations were planting and the interest of Christ spreading very remarkably in these parts, by the settling of ministers in congregations not before planted." But the crisis speedily arrived when it was apparent no other alternative remained for the settlement of the nation than the restoration of the exiled king. In the first movements towards this event the presbyterians, then the most united and considerable body in the three kingdoms, took the lead. "The motion of bringing home the king," writes Adair, who had access to the best information, "begun first among the most grave and wise ministers in the church of Scotland, who communicated it to some principal noblemen; and thereafter under secrecy general Monk was communed with in it, who accorded to the proposals made and had their support from Scotland for the same undertaking, and the promise of more if there were need thereof. The same spirit did, after Monk's entering into England, actuate that party there. For all along in his march to London they encouraged him and owned him; and being there, it was the presbyterian covenanted party who brought him into credit, and their ministers brought the whole city to own him."

Further revolutions had in the mean time occurred. The rump or republican parliament, whose sittings had been again interrupted by military violence in the month of October, resumed their sittings in the latter end of December. They then recalled the Irish commissioners who had favoured the usurpation of the army-faction. They approved of the conduct of Sir Charles Coote and Sir Hardress Waller in obtaining possession of the castle of Dublin and other important garrisons throughout the kingdom; (56) and on the nineteenth

[56] On the 13th of December the castle was surprised by the companies of captains Foyer and Bond, "one of whose men softly knocking at the gates,

of January 1660, they appointed these officers, with three others, new commissioners for Ireland. (57) Their own power, however, was speedily terminated. On the twenty-first of February, the members who had been formerly secluded by the army under colonel Pride, resumed their seats in parliament under the protection and by the orders of Monck; and, the violent republicans having retired in disgust, the presbyterian or constitutional party became once more predominant.

The long parliament, thus restored to the state in which it was prior to the death of Charles I., speedily despatched the more urgent business of the nation; and having summoned another parliament to meet in the month of April following, they dissolved themselves by their own act on the sixteenth of March, after having sat, though with frequent interruptions, during the long period of nineteen years. The new or convention parliament, composed of both lords and commons, met on the twenty-fifth of April; and having received favourable communications from Charles II. at Breda, they invited him to return and resume the crown as his hereditary right. But they committed a fatal error, which required another revolution to rectify, in recalling the king and reinvesting him with power, before due stipulations had been made for the constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative. "Never

the sentinel opened the door, and as he opened it, the rest presently rushed in, and on a sudden surprised the whole, and turning out the guards which were in, possest themselves of the castle." They took prisoners the three commissioners, Jones, Corbet, and Tomlison, with colonel Richard Lawrence, lieutenant-colonel Henry Jones, Mr. Standish, the treasurer, and captain Tombes, the store-keeper. See the Weekly Post, No. 35. On the following day the principal officers in Dublin published a paper, declaring their adherence to the Rump-parliament, entitled, "A Declaration of several officers of the army in Ireland, on behalf of themselves and those under their commands, holding forth their steadfast resolutions to adhere to the parliament in defence of its privileges, and the just rights and libertyes of the people of these nations as men and christians." It is dated from Dublin Castle, December 14, 1659; and is signed by Sir Hardress Waller and twenty-one other officers. See Mercurius Politicus, No. 600. p. 987-8.

57 Com. Journ. vii. 803, 815.

had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining by mutual consent the legal rights of the crown, and securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. But the king ascended the throne unfettered with conditions, and thence inferred that he was entitled to all the powers claimed by his father at the commencement of the civil war. In a few years the consequence became manifest. It was found that by the negligence or perfidy of Monk a door had been left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and the people; and that very circumstance which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of these kingdoms." (58)

[58] Lingard, xi. 446. There is much force, however, in what Hallam has urged to show how impracticable it was to provide such preliminary limitations as would have obviated the evils which rendered the revolution necessary. Const. Hist. ii. 152—160.

CHAPTER XVII.

Council of officers assume the government of Ireland—Presbyterians promote the restoration—Convention meets in Dublin—Countenances the presbyterians—afterwards favours the bishops—Charles II. proclaimed—The presbytery depute two ministers to wait on him in London—Their address and interview with the king—His determination to restore prelacy—State of the church in Ulster—New bishops appointed—Gentry of Ulster oppose the presbyterians—Proclamation against meetings of presbytery—Interview between the ministers and the Irish privy council—Jeremy Taylor summons the presbyterian ministers—Conference with him at Hillsborough—He ejects them from their churches—Their subsequent privations—Names of ministers deposed in Ulster—Notices of those who conformed—Meeting of the Irish parliament—Declaration of conformity—Solemn league and covenant burned—Imprudent proceedings of some young ministers—Proclamation against non-conformists—Duke of Ormond made lord licutenant—The ministers send a deputation to Dublin—Who present a petition to Ormond—Its reception in the privy council—Ministers not molested.

THE progress of events in Ireland kept pace with the rapid changes which occurred in the sister kingdom. Sir Charles Coote, with whom the reader is already familiar as the implacable persecutor of the presbyterians and prelatists and other friends of monarchy, now abandoned his former associates and placed himself at the head of the royalists. (1)

[1] The perfidious conduct of Coote on this occasion is thus forcibly depicted by the editor of "The Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II." "That rapacious time-server had, during the power of the republicans and the usurpation of Cromwell, used his influence with the government to enrich himself at the expense of the royal party. But no sooner did the prospect of a revolution in favour of the banished family begin to open, than he was among the first of the deserters, and employed the

Supported by lord Broghill, who had also complied with the usurper and held office under Cromwell, he opened a secret correspondence with Charles II. and with Monck; (2) but Sir Hardress Waller, another of the commissioners for Ireland and a staunch republican, suspecting the design of recalling the king, seized the castle of Dublin for the parliament. After a siege of five days, however, he was obliged to surrender to Coote; and the royalist party, supported by the presbyterians, became masters of the kingdom. The government was now conducted by a council of officers, who used every precaution in their power, by remodelling the army and placing confidential persons in the command of the principal garrisons, to preserve the peace of the country, and secure in due time the restoration of the exiled sovereign.

The presbyterians of Ulster not only cordially acquiesced in these changes; they promoted and encouraged them to the utmost of their power. Adair, who was a principal actor in the scenes which he describes, furnishes the following faithful narrative of events at this momentous crisis, containing important information relative to Irish affairs, now for the first time presented to the public.

"In Ireland, though the presbyterians had not men of note and quality to be leaders in these affairs, yet their prayers were not wanting for the king's happy restoration; and in this juncture of affairs the ministers did encourage the people that in their station they would be ready and assisting in their duty. The true presbyterians indeed were heartily acting and concurring in all these passages in order to the king's restoration, and with a view to a happy settling of religion, according to the first undertaking in Scotland. Others, pretending the same end, at that time concurred with them, and no doubt would have so continued, if the king had stood to his solemn

power he had in Ireland to the double advantage of wiping off old scores with the new government by a zealous attention to the purposes of their revenge, and to the enlarging of his ill-gotten possessions with the plunder of his old friends." Vol. i. p. 105.

2 Montg. MSS. p. 240, 1.

engagements and countenanced religion accordingly. Particularly the lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, then president of Connaught and with his brethren and friends commanding a good part of the army, were special actors in the affairs of Ireland at this time. They, with other persons of quality and interest in the nation, resolved to call a GENERAL CONVENTION from the several parts of the kingdom, chosen after the manner of members elected for parliament; a regular parliament being impossible in this juncture in Ireland as it was in England,—her parliament, being the same which had, long before that, been legally chosen and confirmed by Charles I. to sit during pleasure, and they having been only interrupted for a time through the prevailing of the sectarian party, did only then reassume its own power. But Ireland's parliament had been legally dissolved. Therefore to supply this defect it was agreed there should be such a convention called; which was accordingly chosen in the several counties of protestants. They met in Dublin about the beginning of February, 1660, [3] where it was consulted how to order and settle affairs in the nation as the present circumstances of the times would permit, and particularly the army, which before this had been wholly under the command of the prevailing party and opposite to the king and a free parliament. This convention consisted of persons of divers principles, though most part prelatical and such as always had adhered to the king against the parliament of England. Yet a few were otherwise principled, and intended the solemn league and covenant; and all at first seemed to favour presbyterians, even the enemies of that way now apprehending that possibly the king would own that side.

"Yet a due testimony is not to be denied Henry Cromwell, though the son of the usurper Oliver; who when he perceived matters to go to confusion in England after his

[3] Carte (ii. 202) says the convention met on the 7th of February. Sir James Barry, afterwards Lord Santry, was chosen chairman. Of him see Lodge, i. 307.

father's death, and the anabaptists carry all along both in England and Ireland, he had a desire and resolution to be instrumental for bringing home the king to his just right, though upon terms by which religion and property might be secured. This he did communicate to the soberest of the officers of the army, who he thought would be most ready to concur; and particularly to the lord president [Coote] and to the lord Broghill. (4) But the motion from him was crushed by those whom he looked on as his friends and the king's friends: and some of them, seeing things go as they did, resolved to take the glory of the king's restoration to themselves. Upon this Sir Arthur Forbes, a gallant gentleman who had been a great sufferer for the king both in his blood and estate, was sent over to the king then at Breda with a tender of their service to his majesty, and intimation how far Ireland was at his disposal without any terms or conditions for religion. Yea, these two lords in Dublin growing emulous of one another, and both being afraid of the king's displeasure on his return, having been great compliers with the times before, they studied to ingratiate themselves with the king, and resolved to prevent [anticipate] one another by offering the king, though then abroad, all conditions on his return that he could require. This they thought would be acceptable to the king, the rather because it was expected that England would not receive him without conditions, somewhat equivalent to those upon which he was first received in Scotland; for the long parliament then sitting in England owned the covenant and work of reformation. But that truly worthy person, Sir John Clotworthy, being then in Dublin, a member of the convention, and finding out these designs of the lords, so wrought with them that they concurred to send one from them both to the king, with conditions for Ireland

[4] This confirms what had been suspected by other historians and only obscurely hinted at by contemporary correspondents. See Hallam, ii. 135; where, however, the authority from Thurloe is erroneously quoted; the reference ought to have been to the seventh, not to the sixth, volume of that work.

as well as for England on his restoration. And they both pitched upon Sir John to go on this negociation. He accordingly went as far as London in his way to Holland; but Monk's actings prevented his further journey.

"But to return to the CONVENTION of Ireland at this time sitting in Dublin; I shall not, however, touch any of their actings save wherein religion may be concerned. First, they chose for their chaplain a man reputed the soundest presbyterian at that time in Dublin, one Mr. Cox; (5) calling him to their prayers every morning when they began their business. Immediately they called eight ministers, two from each province in Ireland, all reputed learned and sober and prudent men, that they might give their advice to the convention in order to settling the church in Ireland for that time, both in approving fit ministers and ordering colleges and schools, till a parliament thereafter be duly called. Next, the convention appointed a general fast through Ireland, and with the proclamation for keeping the fast were inserted the causes thereof; among which breach of covenant was one. This fast was kept universally where orthodox ministers were settled; and very solemnly in Christ-church in Dublin, where the whole members of the convention were present, and in which was kept somewhat of the order used in these times even by sober persons; viz.—one minister to pray first and preach, and another to pray after sermon a considerable length; in which prayer the whole state of the times was mentioned, and both confessions and petitions were at length insisted on; and these four ministers carried on the work of the day.

"Those ministers that were called to the convention did all appear in Dublin a little after, and had their commission given them, and were ordered to consult among themselves anent what overtures might tend to the good of the church in the meantime, and then acquaint a committee [of the convention] appointed to consider of matters of religion, with

5 He officiated in St. Catharine's church, Dublin. See Note (17) chapter xvi. *antea.*

their overtures; and withal to give their advice to that committee anent such offers as they should be asked of by it. There was only called from the north, Mr. Patrick Adair, by an order of the convention sent him: Upon which he acquainted the brethren and desired a meeting of them at Belfast from both counties, where they gave him instructions how to carry himself—mainly to endeavour the promoting the work of reformation, and to set on foot overtures for that end in the present juncture when there seemed to be opportunity; and also to guard against episcopal courses on the one hand, and sectarian on the other. He was obliged to acquaint the brethren in the north with what passages were necessary to be communicated to them. This he accordingly did during his abode there; and agreeably to his instructions endeavoured, with the rest of the ministers, that they should propose to the convention the recommending of the covenant and the owning of it, and thereafter the renewing of it. Unto this most of them consented. But there being one, Mr. Vesey of Coleraine, highly prelatical in his heart and not sound in his principles, which was not so well known to the rest; he did from time to time make some of the high prelatical faction in the convention acquainted with this private consultation about promoting the covenant. And they, consulting among themselves how to obviate its being publicly proposed, resolved that the chairman, Sir James Barry, should openly declare against such proceedings of the ministers. As indeed he did openly declare, if that covenant came in before the convention to be taken into consideration and any votings passed about it, he would leave the chair and protest against it. Whereupon the rest of his party did applaud him; and those of the convention who favoured it were of the fewest number, others were indifferent, and so that design was crushed in the bud.

"However, these ministers had power to recommend all honest able men to the convention, that such only should be capable of maintenance; and were charged to recommend none who were of anabaptistical principles, who refused ordi-

nation by orthodox ministers, or were scandalous in their life. Accordingly they drew up a list of the ministers then in Ireland who were judged sober orthodox men, to the number of near an hundred; besides those belonging to the presbytery in the north, upwards of sixty;—all whom were allowed of the convention to receive a legal right to the tithe of the parishes where they severally were; and, in order to that, they were to receive induction into the churches by such neighbouring ministers as were appointed for that effect. And withal they inquired after and gave in a list of those now enjoying salary who were anabaptists, whereof there was a large number in considerable salaries in Ireland, and divers of them members of the army, and some who refused ordination. These were degraded from their preaching and deprived of their salaries, who a little before had ruled all. Besides, these ministers gave in their advice anent the more comfortable settling of ministers in their maintenance; in which most of them would needs have some helps added to the ministers' maintenance; against which Mr. Adair was necessitated to enter his dissent from the rest.

"Thereupon, beside the convention, another judicatory more seemingly legal (as that time could bear) sat in Dublin, constituted of three men who were commissioners from a council of state in England a little before this; and had power and injunctions from the said council to endeavour the propagating of the gospel in Ireland in opposition to atheism, idolatry, popery, superstition and prophaneness; but they had no commission then to supress heresy. These commismissioners were Broghill, Coote, and Sir William Bury, a religious prudent gentleman. These, having some kind of authority from England, did for the time act as they saw the time permitting; and though they sat in the convention and were chief instruments for gathering it, yet they ordinarily sat and acted for themselves. And it was by their authority properly that ministers were settled and had maintenance; and this authority they owned as derived from the council of

state which had been appointed by authority of a parliament in England a little before this.

" It was related before, that when things were in doubt and suspense before the king's return, the convention seemed to favour the covenant and the presbyterian party; and matters seemed to be in a hopeful course. But, as our grandees had intelligence of the pulse of the court at Breda, they altered their course. Then they began to court the few old bishops that were in Ireland, who then had repaired to Dublin. They allowed them considerable salaries in the meantime, and be gan to give them their titles. I was then at most three months in Dublin. Some bishops, who at my arrival there had very hardly access to the commissioners upon any business, and not one seeming to own them in the streets, and who had been content with the countenance of any private person; before I left the place they had become high and much courted, and their titles given them. All things then turned just as the king's inclination was observed to be. Thus when those eight ministers, already mentioned, had denied recommendation to divers old prelatical men who were corrupt in their doctrine, and immoral in their lives, and were generally known to be unworthy all place in the church of God; now at the present time, the committee of religion appointed by the convention did begin to plead for them, and said, that if the eight ministers would not give such men their recommendation, they themselves would recommend them to the commissioners for parishes and tithes. Yea, the greatest number of the eight ministers were drawn to be lax in these things, and would give recommendations to men, with whom the fewest number could not join. But a little after the king's restoration there was no more use for these ministers. Therefore they were dismissed, [in the beginning of May,] and the convention sent commissioners to England to the king, desiring the restoring of the former laws and church-government and worship."

In the meantime Charles II. had been formally proclaimed

sovereign of the three kingdoms, in London on the eighth, and in Dublin on the fourteenth, of May. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the convention adjourned, having commissioned Sir John Clotworthy, with several others, to attend the English parliament, and Coote and Broghill to wait upon the king; (6) and on the following day, the anniversary of his birth, Charles the Second entered London in state, and ascended the throne amid the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. It was not long before his determination to replace the church on its former basis was, notwithstanding his solemn oaths and his recent declaration, clearly indicated. Meanwhile, however, the policy of the court was to amuse the presbyterians whom it was yet dangerous to offend; and to gain time until their union and power were broken, and the prelatical party firmly seated in office. "They were therefore flattered with hopes till their strength and influence were gradually diminished; till the bees had lost their stings, and were become noisy but impotent drones." (7) The leading presbyterians seemed to be wholly unfitted for the exigences of their situation. They were pliable and servile, at a time when the utmost firmness and decision were indispensable; and permitted themselves to be cajoled and lulled into security, when men of the least sagacity and penetration might have discerned the hostile designs of the court. Accordingly, after a brief interval of hollow favour to the presbyterian clergy of the metropolis, and an insincere attempt, at the Savoy conference, to meet their scruples and comprehend them within the establishment, Charles threw off the mask, restored prelacy and the liturgy, denounced the covenant and its adherents, and refused toleration to non-conformists, in direct and undisguised violation of his oft-repeated declarations and his most solemn oaths.

The effects of this change of policy in the court were in due time felt in Ireland. The presbyterians of Ulster, in

6 Carte, ii. 204. 7 Secret Hist. of the court of Charles II. i. 89.

common with their brethren in the sister kingdoms, were at first deluded by the hope of enjoying the favour and confidence of Charles, on account both of their firm and unwavering attachment to his cause under the usurpation, and of his own engagements in behalf of their parent church in Scotland. Immediately after the convention had adjourned, when all parties—the army, the adventurers, the prelatists, and even the Romanists—were hurrying over to secure the favour of the court, the presbyterians likewise determined to send a deputation to the king to explain their state and solicit protection. "After Mr. Adair's return home from Dublin there was held a synod at Ballymena, where all the brethren in the north were present. He gave them an account of his keeping their instructions and the state of the times as he could. He also brought every one of them a warrant for the tithes of their respective parishes, so far as was in the power of the commissioners in Dublin. This however lasted but for that year and the next, till the bishops were established.

"The brethren, considering what might be their duty at this juncture, resolved to send two of their number to the king with an address. In this address they humbly minded his majesty of God's wonderful dealing with him in his preservation and restoration, on which they heartily congratulated him. But withal they humbly petitioned the settling of religion according to the rule of reformation against popery, prelacy, heresy, &c. according to the covenant. With this address, subscribed by all their hands, they sent Mr. William Keyes, an Englishman lately settled among them, and principally sent because he was an Englishman, and Mr. William Richardson. These brethren began their journey in [the end of] May 1660, and went to England. But the nearer they came to the courts they had intelligence of less ground of hope of any success to their desires. When they came to London, they applied themselves first to Sir John Clotworthy, their acquaintance and true friend. He went along with them to the special minis-

ters of the city of their own persuasion, such as Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Doctor Manton, &c. who, when they saw the address, told the brethren they thought the plainness of it for the covenant and against prelates would make it unacceptable to the court. However they applied to others, who they thought might prove their friends, and obtain access to the king, such as lord Manchester, Mr. Annesley, &c. and Sir John went along with them. These promised what assistance they could; but at the same time told the brethren that the mentioning the covenant and against prelacy in the address would give offence to the king. For by this time the king had not only declared for prelacy and disowned the covenant, but had named bishops for all the dioceses in Ireland, who were making ready to go to their bishopricks They also went, not without difficulty of access, to Monk, now duke of Albemarle and general of all the army, being accompanied to him with the lord Broghill, Mr. Annesley, and Sir John Clotworthy. But he disgusted their address and would not concern himself in it, as it was drawn up; but told them if they would petition his majesty he would assist them.

"The honest brethren were thus put to great straits what to do; having instructions from their brethren to offer nothing else but that address, and all their friends on the other hand telling them it would not be acceptable: neither would the great persons, who otherwise owned them, procure them access to his majesty, except they would alter some expressions in it. They were therefore at last prevailed with to expunge the mentioning the covenant and prelacy. On this they were introduced to the king by Mr. Annesley, then a professed friend to presbyterians; though thereafter being made earl of Anglesey, and advanced to high places of profit and honour about court, he disowned presbyterian principles, and in other things proved not so sound as was expected. When the brethren had access to his majesty, he was pleased to hear the address, as then framed, read by Mr. Annesley. He looked with an awful majestical coun-

tenance on them; yet he gave them good words, owning the ministers of Ireland's loyalty in the time of the usurpers, and promising his royal protection for the time to come. He bid them not fear, for he had appointed a deputy for Ireland who would prove their friend (this was the lord Robarts, though another was appointed afterwards); and concluded by promising to give lord Robarts his commands concerning them.

"The brethren upon this returned home. At their arrival, there was a meeting appointed at Ballymena [in September] where they were joyfully received by the rest. They owned the providence of God toward them in giving them access to the king; as other addresses, sent from the ministers of their persuasion in other parts of Ireland by a very grave, learned, and bold man, could have no access, but he was obliged to return home without doing any thing. And they were thanked by the rest for their diligence. Yet the brethren did signify their dislike of that alteration of the address:—that being more displeasing to them than all they had done was pleasing. They saw a change and overturning drawing near. The bishops would take no notice of words spoken in private by the king; and they were grieved that the testimony they had given against that sad defection and for the covenant should have been smothered, and yet they nothing the better dealt with. This did a little after appear. For the bishops hasted over to take possession of their dioceses, and were assisted therein by those who ruled for the time in Ireland; and immediately they set up their public liturgies, altars, bishops' courts, &c." (8)

A dark cloud, charged with the elements of a portentous storm, was rapidly gathering around the presbyterians of Ulster. In every direction signs were multiplying, which too clearly indicated the approach of a season of suffering and persecution. The church had now for seven years enjoyed an interval of considerable prosperity; and her

[8] Adair's MS.

ministers, with exemplary diligence, had faithfully improved the favourable opportunities afforded for promoting and consolidating her interests. It was during this period that presbyterianism struck its roots so deeply and extensively throughout the province, as to enable it to endure in safety the subsequent storms of persecution, and to stand erect and flourishing, while all the other contemporary scions of dissent were broken down and prostrated in the dust. In the year 1653, the church possessed scarcely more than the half-dozen of ministers who had ventured to remain in the country; now, however, she was served by not less than SEVENTY ministers regularly and permanently settled, and having under their charge nearly EIGHTY parishes or congregations, comprising a population of probably not far from ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND souls. (9) These ministers were associated in five presbyteries, which held monthly meetings and annual visitations of all the churches within their bounds; and which were subordinate to a general presbytery or synod that ordinarily met four times in each year. In the several departments of government, discipline, worship, and doctrine, an entire conformity with the parent church of Scotland was strictly maintained. No candidate for the ministry was received into communion or ordained, until the presbytery had received ample proofs of his literary attainments, religious character, and theological views, by means of public and private trials, which often extended through six or eight months. Prior to ordination, he was required to take the solemn league and covenant, by which he was bound to oppose popery, prelacy, superstition and heresy, and to approve and accept of the Westminster confession of

[9] In note (33) of the preceding chapter, the reader has seen that in the year 1656 an enemy of the presbyterians, not disposed to overrate the strength of his foes, calculated that the Scots in Ulster could raise at any time 40,000 fighting men. There is little doubt, therefore, that after four years more of continued prosperity and undisturbed repose, the whole amount of the presbyterian population must have exceeded, rather than fallen short of, the amount stated in the text.

faith, catechisms and directory, received by the parent church in Scotland as parts of the covenanted uniformity which that bond was designed to promote: he was also required, as previously noticed, to subscribe the act of Bangor, and to study peace and subjection to his brethren in the Lord. Ministers were settled solely upon the call of their respective parishes, and legal bonds for their maintenance out of the tithe were perfected by the principal landed proprietors; yet so difficult was it found, even with the aid of this precautionary measure, to secure a due support, that, had it not been for the endowments assigned to some of them out of the treasury, many congregations must have remained destitute of a resident ministry. Great strictness was observed by sessions and presbyteries in censuring disorderly and immoral persons; ministerial visitations from house to house were punctually maintained; and the most commendable diligence was employed in communicating catechetical instruction to all classes, but especially to the young. Thus was laid the foundation of that solid acquaintance with the doctrines of the gospel, as exhibited in the Westminster confession of faith and catechisms, which preserved the church in unity and vigour amid the distracting sects and heresies of the protectorate, and the subsequent snares and persecutions of the prelacy.

These persecutions soon approached. So early as the first week in August, not ten weeks after his arrival in London, the king nominated persons to fill the vacant sees in Ireland. In Ulster, only the primacy (10) and the bishoprick of Dromore

10 Primate Ussher resided constantly in England from the year 1640, and was latterly supported by a pension from Cromwell. He died at Ryegate in Surrey, not far from London, on the 21st of March, 1656, in the 77th year of his age. Cromwell honoured him with a splendid public funeral, and he was buried in great state on the 17th of April in St. Paul's chapel in Westminster Abbey, in the grave next to that of Sir James Fullerton, who had been his master and afterwards his tutor in Trinity College, Dublin. Parr, p. 79. Yet in Dart's History of Westminster Abbey, (fol. Lond. 1723. ii. 142.) it is stated his grave is not known. Ussher left his library to his only child lady Tyrrell, to whom both the king of Denmark and

were vacant by the deaths of their incumbents. Bramhall of Derry, Jones of Clogher, John Leslie of Raphoe, and Henry Leslie of Down and Connor still survived, and returned to their respective dioceses. Of these prelates, Bramhall, the inveterate and now exasperated opponent of the presbyterians, was elevated to the primacy, and a doctor Wild appointed to succeed him in Derry. Henry Leslie was removed to Meath, and the celebrated Jeremy Taylor was nominated as his successor in Down and Connor; and Robert Leslie, the eldest son of Henry, was selected to fill the vacant see of Dromore.

Encouraged by the restoration of prelacy, the gentry, especially those who had renounced their allegiance to Charles and held office under the usurpers, hastened to join once more the ascendant party, and to place their new-born loyalty beyond suspicion by studiously inciting the state against the ill-fated presbyterians. Among these were not only lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, as already noticed; but also lord Blayney, lord Caulfield, Sir William Cole, Sir George Rawdon, colonel Trevor, colonel Arthur Hill, and many others. These mercenary time-servers were now the most forward to denounce, as disloyal and unworthy of toleration, those very ministers whom they had shortly before persecuted for steadfast loyalty and attachment to monarchy, at a time when they themselves were the traitorous supporters of Cromwell's usurpation! Thus lord Caulfield, writing from Charlemont in the latter end of October a congratulatory letter to Bramhall who had recently arrived at Armagh, boasts in the following terms of his zeal in punishing the neighbouring

Cardinal Mazarine, prime minister of Louis XIV, made proposals for its purchase. But the officers and soldiers of the Irish army under Henry Cromwell, highly to their credit, bought it for the sum of £2,000 which they raised among themselves by subscription, intending to make it the foundation of a library for the new college proposed to be founded in Dublin. The subsequent revolutions in the government frustrated the design; and the Irish House of Commons on the 31st of May 1661, (Journals, i. 627.) directed the books and MSS. to be taken from the castle, where they had been kept since their removal to Ireland, and deposited in Trinity College, "there to be preserved for public use;" where they still form one of the most valuable portions of that most valuable library.

ministers and preventing their presbyterial meetings. "In these unhappy northern quarters—those whom we esteem most dangerous are the presbyterian factions who do not like [mislike?] publickly to preach up the authority of their kirk to be above that of the crown and our dread sovereign. I have myself discoursed with divers of their ministers both in publick and private, who have maintained that the kirk hath power to excommunicate their kings; and when the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were administered here, one of them told me that we had pulled down one pope and set up another. But I made bold to inflict such punishments as I thought were proper for their offences, and hindered their meetings where I have considered there might be anything consulted of tending to the breach of the peace either in church or commonwealth." (11)

The lord Robarts, to whom reference has already been made, was selected by Charles to be lord deputy of Ireland; but his haughty temper being intolerable to the Irish nobility and chief officers of state then in England, his patent was soon after recalled, and it was deemed expedient to commit the government for a time to three lords justices. Accordingly, on the last day of December, Sir Charles Coote, who had been recently created earl of Montrath, and Sir Maurice Eustace, the lord chancellor, and shortly after lord Broghill, now earl of Orrery, were sworn into that office. The civil government being thus legally restored, the next step was to complete the edifice of the church. On the twenty-seventh of January, 1661, two archbishops and ten bishops were, in prelatical phraseology, consecrated in St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, with all due pomp and formality. (12) One of the

[11] Rawdon Papers, p. 127.

[12] The anthem which was sung at the consecration of these prelates concluded with the following puerile, if not profane, conceits.

"Angels look down and joy to see,
Like that above, *a monarchy!*
Angels look down and joy to see,
Like that above, *a hierarchy!*"

See Secret History of the Court of Charles II. i. 281.

first acts of the lords justices was to order an extraordinary fast to be held on the thirtieth of January, the anniversary of the execution of the late king; and at the instigation of the bishops, they issued a proclamation forbidding all unlawful assemblies, under which meetings of presbytery were included, and directing the sheriffs and other officers to prevent or disperse them.

The first meeting on which this order took effect was held at Ballymena in the month of March. "In the mean time," writes Adair, "when the bishops were making ready for their work—of crushing all faithful ministers and extinguishing presbyterian government, and previous to their visitations, the brethren, though by proclamation discharged from any presbyterial meetings, yet met first in a synod at Ballymena to consult and take a common course anent their carriage. This being known to some governors in the country, especially Sir George Rawdon, who had also been their opposer before as the times were, there was a party of horse sent by him to scatter the brethren; but Providence so ordered it that they were dissolved before the troopers came. Here they met in a more private way than usually, and sent four of their number from their several presbyteries to Dublin to put the Justices in mind of the king's gracious-like promises to their brethren at London upon delivery of their address. They sent one of these brethren along, as one of the four, to bear witness of that circumstance. They accordingly went to Dublin, and gave in a petition to the justices in their own and brethren's name to be free of the yoke of prelacy, &c. and founding their petition on the king's gracious answer to their brethren at London. Beside, Sir John Clotworthy, now lord Massareene, their great and constant friend, being then at court, had promise from the king that the declaration about religion emitted at that time should have some addition put to it favourable for the presbyterians in Ireland. Upon this they were called before the council-table, and in discourse with the chancellor, the preses, they had opportunity to declare what had been their carriage, loyalty, and suffer-

ings upon that account in time of the usurper; and withal their present principles of loyalty to his majesty, and resolutions to give obedience to the laws, if not active yet to endure the penalties; and that they resolved always to live as peaceable, loyal, and dutiful subjects. They were but unkindly entertained by the council, divers bishops being then privy councillors, besides other unfriends. They were reviled and mocked by the episcopal party in Dublin; however the substance of their desires was not granted."

Of this fruitless interview between the ministers and the privy council, one of the lords justices has given a more enlarged account which demands insertion as illustrating the views of the government and corroborating the narrative of Adair. "We have had," writes the earl of Orrery to Ormond then in England, "these two days four ministers before us which were sent from the several presbyteries in Ulster to the lords justices and council, desiring liberty to exercise their ministry in their respective parishes, according to the way they have hitherto exercised it in; and expressing their great sorrow to find themselves numbered with papists and fanatics in our late proclamation which prohibited unlawful assemblies. After many debates upon several proposals how to answer them, we resolved on this answer. That we neither could or would allow any discipline to be exercised in church affairs, but what was warranted and commanded by the laws of the land. That they were punishable for having exercised any other. That we would not take any advantage against them for what was past, if they would comport themselves conformably for the time to come. That if they were dispensed withal, by pleading a submission thereunto was against their consciences, papists and fanatics would expect the like indulgence from the like plea, which we knew their own practice as well as judgments led them to disallow of. That we took it very ill, divers of those which had sent them, had not observed the time set apart for humbling themselves for the barbarous murther of his late majesty, a sin which no honest man could avoid being sorry for. That some of their number

had preached seditiously in crying up the covenant, the seeds of all our miseries, in lamenting his majesty's breach of it as setting up episcopacy as introductive to popery; which they had not punished in exercising any of their pretended discipline over such notorious offenders. And lastly, that if they conformed themselves to the discipline of this church, they should want no fitting countenance and encouragement in carrying on their ministry; so, if they continued refractory, they must expect the penalties the laws did prescribe. To all which they answered, that as far as their consciences would permit them they would comply, and what it would not they would patiently suffer. That it was their religion to obey a lawful authority, and such they owned his majesty was, either actively or passively. That if any of their judgment had preached sedition, they left them to themselves and disowned them; and if they had the exercising of their discipline they would punish severely all such. That many of them had, according to the proclamation, kept the fast for the king's murther, which they heartily detested, and for the doing thereof in the usurper's government many of them had been imprisoned and sequestered; and that to the last of their lives they would continue loyal to his majesty. And lest they might offend against our proclamation they desired to know what was meant by unlawful assemblies, because some were so severe as to interpret their meetings to pray and preach on the Lord's day to come under that head. To which we told them that by unlawful meetings was only meant such assemblies as were to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdictions which were not warranted by the laws of the kingdom, and not to hinder their meetings in performing parochial duties in those benefices of which they were possessed legally or illegally. They seemed much comforted with the last assurance; so that having again exhorted them to conformity, and promised them therein all encouragement, we dismissed them to try what this usage and the admonition will produce." (13)

[13] Orrery's State Letters, i. 29—31.

Adair thus continues his narrative of the interesting events which issued in the deposition of himself and his brethren.

"From the answer of the justices and council may be seen what small encouragement the ministers had, and no obstacle put in the bishops' way to follow their designs. They indeed went on in their several dioceses against any minister of that sort much according to the genius of the bishop himself; some more slowly and with greater commiseration and humanity, others with greater severity, especially where the throng of such ministers principally were, as in the dioceses of Down, Connor and Derry.

"The bishop of Down, [Jeremy Taylor,] coming to his diocese at the time when the brethren were in Dublin, had intelligence of them and their errand; and so had an envious eye upon them. However, he forbeared his first visitation till they returned; and finding they had obtained no encouragement, he immediately summoned them all to his visitation. They could not then have a general meeting to consult; but Providence so ordered it that, a few days before the summons came which they were expecting, most of them were called to the burial of an honourable and truly religious lady, the lady Clotworthy, the mother of the now lord Massareene. There they had occasion to advise together, and were not all of one mind as to their going to Lisnegarvy. However most part met in Belfast a day before the visitation, and from thence went together to Lisnegarvy. The bishop being then at his house in Hillsborough, the brethren sent three of their number to the bishop the day before the appointed visitation. Their errand was to tell him that whereas they had received summonses to appear before his visitation, they could not appear in answer to that summons, neither as submitting themselves to episcopal jurisdiction, nor at all in the public visitation. Yet they were willing to confer with him in private, that he might know they were men that walked by principle, and held not groundless opinions; and that though they were dissenters from the present church-government and modes of worship, yet they were the king's true subjects. He desired

they would give in on paper what they had to say. This they declined, on consideration that many of their brethren were not present. He told them he would receive nothing from them as a body, nor look on them in that light. They told him, whatever they were or whatever way he looked on them, they behoved to advise with one another in matters of that concernment; as their relation as ministers, their former correspondence in all such matters, and their christian prudence, called for. Seeing they would give him no paper he questioned them whether they held presbyterian government to be 'jure divino,' and desired they would give a positive answer. They readily answered they did. To this the bishop replied that there needed no farther discourse of the matter of accommodation, if they held to that. They said it was a truth whereof they were persuaded in their conscience, and could not relinquish it, but must profess it as they were called; therefore if answers of that nature would but irritate at the public visitation, they judged it better not to appear, but to confer with him freely in private. He answered, if they should make profession contrary to law in the visitation, they would smart for it. Therefore seeing our foot in a snare, he desired them rather not to appear and that as their friend. They thanked him and withal said, they conceived they might hold presbyterial government to be 'jure divino,' and yet not transgress the law of the land, since they were not exercising that government, for they knew that affirmative precepts bound not 'ad semper.' He answered that was true, yet that they were not subject to another government was contrary to law; and he said though the king's late declaration in matters of religion were extended to Ireland, it would do them no good. They returned that there were many in England who held presbyterial government to be 'jure divino,' yet at present enjoyed the benefit of the king's declaration. He replied, he saw not how that could consist.

"He then questioned them if they could take the oath of supremacy. They answered they could not absolutely say what their brethren could do, since it was never put to them;

but they judged, if that oath were moulded in the sense in which bishop Ussher explained it and wherein king James acquiesced, none of the brethren would refuse it. He said, that being informed by a good hand, before some of their number went to Dublin, that they intended to petition the council for it with that explication, (wherein the reader may know how groundless his information was,) he did then inquire whether it was conformable to law to give it with that explication, and it was answered to him it could not. Therefore he would tender it to them in the grammatical sense, and said he knew none to scruple that oath but jesuits and presbyterians, who were the greatest enemies to monarchy and most disobedient to kings; which he instanced in the way of the assembly of Scotland, and in Calvin, Knox, Buchanan, &c. He said moreover that where presbyterians differed from papists in some smaller things, they agreed in this great thing. However, neither this bishop nor any of the rest did urge this oath upon ministers, knowing the law did not allow them to urge it on any who bore not some office in church or commonwealth; and they did not look on these ministers as capable of ecclesiastical offices, not owning their ordination, much less to be in any office under the king. He said also he perceived they were in a hard taking; for if they did conform contrary to their conscience, they would be but knaves, and if not, they could not be endured contrary to law: he wished them therefore 'deponere conscientiam erroneam.' The brethren, being somewhat troubled at that so odious comparison between them and jesuits, and at his reflecting on the assembly of Scotland and the worthy reformers, shewed him his mistake in such a way as their circumstances could admit. On this they returned to their brethren at Lisnegarvy, where, after giving account of their discourse with the bishop, the brethren saw themselves in a hard taking, yet encouraged one another to fidelity and steadfastness.

"The next day was the bishop's visitation in Lisnegarvy, where he himself preached; but none of the brethren except two went to hear him. Thereafter in his visitation all were

called and none appeared; yet he did nothing farther that day. After dinner, two of the former four and another brother were sent to him to see if he would call all the brethren together to his chamber to confer with him, which they apprehended he had proposed at Hillsborough; especially from his saying it was not fit for them to appear in public. When accordingly they went and proposed this to him, he wholly waived to answer their question, and fell angrily on reflections on presbyterial government, having nothing to reflect on any particular brother, or on the particular actings of the presbytery in this country, though fain he would if he could; and withal proposing arguments for conformity, which engaged the brethren in some discourse of that nature. Notwithstanding his own expressions the day before respecting their not appearing at the visitation, yet he now alleged it was contempt made the brethren not to appear on that occasion. One said it was the awe of God and conscience that made them not appear. He replied a jew or a quaker would say so much for their opinions, and every body would use that argument for the vindication of their erroneous courses. There were also some few of the brethren whom he called to him in private to engage them to conformity, and gave them great offers of kindness and preferment; but he obtained not his purpose.

"The brethren repaired to their respective congregations with expectation of the coming storm. For this bishop did in one day in his visitation declare thirty-six churches vacant. (14) He did not make any process against the ministers, nor suspend nor excommunicate. But he simply held them not for ministers, they not being ordained by bishops. Therefore he only declared the parishes vacant which he was to

[14] I have not been able to ascertain the date of Taylor's first visitation; but from several expressions in his sermon at the opening of the Irish parliament on the eighth of May, I am inclined to think it had taken place previously; and that the ministers were deposed in April, or about three months after his consecration. In some of the dioceses, probably in Raphoe and Clogher, the ministers were not deposed till some months later.

supply, himself having immediately the charge of all the souls in his diocese as he professed; and procured priests and curates for these parishes as he thought fit. The rest of the brethren in other dioceses were dealt with in the same manner in the end, though not with so great haste and violence.

"After this sentence declaring the churches vacant, the ministers continued preaching for a while till it became physically impossible for them to continue; curates being sent to some places and taking possession of the churches, others were violently laid hands upon as they were going to their pulpits. Upon this they were all forced to desist from public preaching within two or three months after their places were declared vacant; except two—viz. Mr. Hamilton of Killead and Mr. Cunningham of Antrim, who, through my lord Massareene's intercession with the bishop, obtained about half-a-year's liberty after their brethren were silenced, only they must not lecture before preaching according to their former practice. Thus there came a black cloud over this poor church. The old enemies became bitter and triumphed, and kept a searching and severe eye over the outed ministers that they might get some advantage of them. For generally they did reside in some places of their parishes, being excluded not only from their maintenance, but from their houses that the parishes had built for ministers; except those houses that were built by themselves and were their own property. They did also, as the danger and difficulty of that time allowed, visit the people from house to house; and sometimes had small meetings of them by parcels in several places of the parish in the night-time, which were narrowly pried into and sometimes gotten knowledge of, and by these observers and ministers called in question. Yet Providence brought them off again. Besides, there were some who had been once of the brethren by profession and ordained by them, who now, turning with the times, became more dangerous than others."

The example which bishop Taylor set in the summary ejection of the presbyterians from their churches, was soon after

followed by the other prelates of Ulster. To the ministers, this was now indeed "a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness." Had the bishops deprived them only of their churches and maintenance, and cut them off from connection with episcopacy, they would never have complained. But when they found themselves debarred from the exercise of their ministry and forbidden, under heavy penalties, to preach, baptize, or publickly exhort their suffering people, they felt their situation to be peculiarly distressing. They were ready to sacrifice, and did nobly sacrifice, all worldly advantages for the testimony of a good conscience; but to be prohibited from what was to them their highest and most beloved work, the declaring of the glad tidings of salvation and the winning of souls unto Christ,—and that too after the declarations of their sovereign, whose restoration they had strenuously promoted, had led them to expect ample toleration—constituted the bitterest ingredient in that cup of affliction of which they were now constrained to drink. But neither the privations nor the temptations by which they were beset (15) could induce them to violate the sacred principles of conscience and of duty. They cheerfully 'suffered the loss of all things,' rather than submit to an unscriptural form of government and worship,

15 Among these temptations was the mode of their re-ordination. In England all ministers who conformed were obliged to disown their former ordination as irregular and invalid, and submit to be ordained by the bishops *de novo*. But in Ireland Bramhall and the other prelates took a middle course, and adopted the following form of ordination, which professed not to invalidate their former orders, if they had any; but merely to supply what was wanting to the legal investiture of their office in accordance with the canons.—"Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habent) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprió judició relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci Ecclesiæ ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitant de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur. In cujus rei testimonium, &c. &c." Neal, iv. 314. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 191.

and profess allegiance to a church which, while it had renounced the headship of Christ and surrendered the key of discipline to the civil magistrate, had assumed the power of decreeing rites and ceremonies, and adopted too many of the idolatrous and superstitious forms of the church of Rome.

In Ulster SIXTY-ONE presbyterian ministers, being almost the entire number who were then officiating in the province, were deposed from the ministry and ejected out of their benefices by the northern prelates. Of this noble army of confessors 'for the truth and simplicity of the gospel of Christ,' sixteen were members of the presbytery of Down, fourteen of Antrim, ten of Route, eight of Tyrone, and thirteen of Lagan. These ministers enjoyed the painful though honourable pre-eminence of being the first to suffer in the three kingdoms; the nonconformists of England not being ejected till the month of August in the following year, nor the presbyterians of Scotland till the subsequent month of October, 1662. (16) They are, therefore, eminently entitled to the admiration and gratitude of posterity. They set an example of fortitude and integrity which prepared and encouraged their brethren in the sister kingdoms to act with similar magnanimity; and thus conjointly exhibited to the world a convincing and instructive proof of the power of religion and of conscience, unparalleled in the annals of the church's history. They merit, however, especial honour from their descendants in Ulster. Had they, tempted by preferment and worldly ease, apostatized from their principles and deserted their people, few traces of presbyterianism, to which

16 The reason of the ministers being ejected in Ireland so long before their brethren in the sister-kingdoms was this:—the old form of church-government and worship had never been abolished by law in Ireland; and therefore at the Restoration prelacy, being still the legal establishment, was immediately recognized and enforced. But both in England and in Scotland it had been abolished by acts of their respective parliaments, and the Directory substituted in room of the Common-prayer book. It was necessary therefore that these acts should be first repealed and new acts of parliament passed, before the bishops had power to proceed against those who did not conform.

the inhabitants of Ulster owe so much of their civil and religious freedom, would have survived the subsequent persecutions of the prelacy and the ruinous wars of the Revolution. These faithful men, indeed, not only at first replanted the presbyterian church in the province, and, under God, 'caused it to take deep root and fill the land;' but when 'her hedges were broken down' and her enemies exulting over her destruction, supported by 'the right hand of the Lord' they carefully repaired the breaches and up-reared her shattered stem, watering it with their prayers, till 'the hills were once more covered with the shadow of it, and her boughs were sent out to the encircling sea.' Let the names, therefore, of the following 'righteous men be held in everlasting remembrance!'

LIST OF EJECTED PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS IN ULSTER. (17)

PRESBYTERY OF DOWN.

Andrew Stewart - -	Donaghadee.
Gilbert Ramsay - - -	Bangor.
John Greg - - -	Newton-ards.
William Reid - - -	Ballywalter.
John Drysdale - - -	Portaferry.
James Gordon - - -	Comber.
Thomas Peebles - -	Dundonald.

17 This valuable list is extracted from Wodrow, (i. 324, 5.) with some few corrections; and with the addition of the places where they officiated, so far as I have been able to discover them after many years' laborious research. I have prefixed the letter R. to those who survived the Revolution. Wodrow introduces this list with the following observation:—"I have added an account of such presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland who refused conformity to episcopacy there, and suffered severely enough for it; because I have always found the elder presbyterian ministers in Ireland reckoning themselves upon the same bottom with, and as it were a branch of, the church of Scotland. It stands as it comes to my hand under the correction of the reverend ministers of that kingdom." In Calamy's Continuation the reader will find the names of several independent ministers who were also deposed, at this period, in Ireland.

R.	Hugh Wilson	Castlereagh.
R.	Michael Bruce	Killinchy.
	William Richardson	Killileagh.
	John Fleming	Downpatrick.
R.	Alex. Hutchinson	Saintfield.
R.	Henry Livingston	Drumbo.
	Henry Hunter	Dromore.
	James Campbell	Rathfryland?
	Andrew M^{c}Cormick	Magherally.

PRESBYTERY OF ANTRIM.

	William Keyes	Belfast.
	James Shaw	Carnmoney.
R.	Robert Cunningham	Broadisland.
R.	Thomas Hall	Larne.
R.	Patrick Adair	Cairncastle.
	James Fleming	Glenarm.
	Gilbert Simpson	Ballyclare.
R.	Anthony Kennedy	Templepatrick.
	Thomas Crawford	Donegore.
	Robert Hamilton	Killead.
	Robert Dewart	Connor.
	John Shaw	Ahoghill.
	James Cunningham	Antrim.
	John Cathcart	Randalstown.

PRESBYTERY OF ROUTE.

	David Buttle	Ballymena.
	William Cumming	Kilraughts?
	John Douglass	Broughshane.
	Robert Hogshead	Ballyrashane.
	Gabriel Cornwall	Ballywillan?
	Thomas Fulton	Macosquin?
R.	William Crooks	Ballykelly.
R.	Thomas Boyd	Aghadoey.
	James Ker	Ballymoney.
	John Law	Garvagh.

PRESBYTERY OF TYRONE.

	Robert Auld - - - -	Maghera?
	Archibald Hamilton - -	Donaghhendry.
	George Keith - - -	Dungannon?
R.	Thomas Kennedy - -	Donoughmore.
	Thomas Gowan - - -	Glasslough.
R.	John Abernethy - -	Minterburn.
R.	Alexander Osborne - -	Brigh.
	James Johnston - - -	Lisnaskea?

PRESBYTERY OF LAGAN.

R.	Robert Wilson - - -	Strabane.
	William Moorcraft - -	Newtonstewart.
	John Wool - - -	Clondermot.
	William Semple - - -	Letterkenny.
	John Hart - - -	Taughboyne.
	John Adamson - - -	Omagh?
	John Crookshanks - -	Raphoe.
	Thomas Drummond - -	Ramelton.
R.	Robert Craighead - -	Donoughmore.
	Hugh Cunningham - -	Ray.
	Hugh Peebles - - -	Lifford?
R.	Adam White - - -	Fannet.
	William Jack - - -	Bull-alley, Dublin.

The total number of ministers, associated together in presbyteries at this trying period throughout Ulster, was nearly seventy. Of these SEVEN only conformed to prelacy. The other ministers deeply deplored these instances of unfaithfulness and defection. "There was another thing added to the affliction of the brethren, which was the falling-off of several of their number, and their embracing the snare laid before them. These were Mr. Mungo Bennett, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Robert Rowan, Mr. Andrew Rowan, Mr. Brown of Bellaghy; and afterwards Mr. James Fleming, who had stood out longer than the rest. (18) All these

[18] I find, from the Records in the First Fruits Office, that the *Rev. Andrew Rowan* was admitted rector of Dunaghy or Clough, in the county of

had come from Scotland with testimonials and recommendations from grave and godly ministers, for their hopefulness and piety, besides other qualifications of learning, prudence, &c. They were ordained by the presbytery here with solemn engagements at their ordination to adhere to presbyterian government, the ends of the covenant, and subordination to their brethren. Notwithstanding, in the hour of temptation and embracing this present world, they renounced the covenant publickly, their ordination by the presbytery, and were re-ordained by their bishop. Thereafter they turned other men than before; worldly, proud, severe on the people who discountenanced them, and haters of those faithful ministers who once made them ministers. There was also one Dunlop and Mr. Andrew Nesbitt [expectants] who went the same way and proved no better than the rest. This Nesbitt several years after being sick and expecting death, as it fell out, sent for Mr. Adair, his nearest neigh-

Antrim, on September 13, 1661, and that the *Rev. George Wallace* was admitted vicar of Holywood in Down on Dec 12, 1661; and from the "Liber Hiberniæ" that the *Rev. Mungo Bennet* was admitted rector of Coleraine on Nov. 7, 1665. It does not appear with what benefices Caldwell and Robert Rowan were rewarded. *Mr. Alexander Dunlop*, mentioned above by Adair, was admitted vicar of Kilmore in Down in April 1661, and *Mr. Andrew Nesbitt* was at the same time admitted vicar of Glenarm; so that these expectants were the first to receive the stipulated reward of their tergiversation. Of the ministers in Ulster, not being presbyterians, who enjoyed salaries from Cromwell's government, (see App. (No. XIV.) I find no less than eleven of these pensions receiving benefices from the prelates. *Thomas Vesey* admitted rector of Coleraine or Templepatrick [sic in MS.] September 26, 1661: *Andrew Lawe*, rector of Kilmegan and Maghera in Down, March, 1661, and afterwards vicar of Templepatrick, Kilbride, Donegore and the Grange, November 3, 1662; *Hugh Graffan*, vicar of Saintfield, September 10, 1661; *Daniel M'Neale*, vicar of Billy, Culfeightrin and Loughguile, September 12, 1661; *Robert Young*, rector of Culdaff, April, 1661; *George Holland*, archdeacon and rector of Dunboe, March, 1661; *Archibald Glasgow*, rector and vicar of Clondevadock, and of Tully fernan and Aughnish, April, 1661; *William Lindsey*, rector of Bovevagh, April, 1661; *Hugh Barclay*, rector and vicar of Ray, April, 1661; *Robert Echlin*, rector and vicar of Ballee and Ardglass, September 24, 1661; and *James Watson*, precentor of Connor, March, 1661.

bouring minister, whom he had often before chided and reflected on for gathering the people of the parish by parcels where Nesbitt was their curate, and had threatened severity to him for so doing, beside oppressing the people on account of nonconformity. Yet finding himself going out of the world he, with great expressions and much seeming seriousness, renounced the course he had been upon. He said he had sold his Master for a piece of bread, and had joined with a set of men that God was not among, a generation whom God would plague, and he doubted if there was mercy for him; with many words to that purpose. Mr. Adair told him that he was glad he was brought that length; he put him in mind of his former courses during these latter years, which had been very gross for oppression, pride, drunkenness, regardlessness of the Sabbath, lying, &c. yet he added that if he were sincere in what he expressed as to his repentance and flying to Christ, there might be hope. But he was afraid that if he recovered that sickness, he would return again and forget his recantation. Mr. Nesbitt replied that, through God's strength, it should never be so. It is observable that those, who turned to conformity from their brethren and the way of God, turned to be another kind of creatures than they had been generally. While they continued they were sober, and some of them well-gifted; when they conformed, they became loose, oppressive, proud, and divers of them profane."

Meanwhile, after an interval of nearly twenty years, the Irish parliament met on the eighth of May; and was opened by a sermon from bishop Taylor. Archbishop Bramhall was chosen speaker of the lords; and Audley Mervyn, one of the members for Tyrone, who in the year 1640 had impeached Bramhall and others of high treason and had been a violent opponent of prelacy, was now so ardent a conformist that he was elected speaker of the commons. "In the house of lords," writes Adair, "there was not one man who favoured the presbytery save the lord Massarene. There was some pains taken in the north to choose members for the house of

Commons who might be favourable; and some were so, together with divers from Munster who disrelished the bishops and ceremonies, who had been of Cromwell's party before, and were now to get their debentures established by parliament.—But whatever were the principles and affections of some private men, the parliament did immediately establish the former episcopal laws of Ireland; and they put forth a DECLARATION or proclamation to this purpose, forbidding all to preach who would not conform; and ordered it to be sent through Ireland to every minister, to be read by him the next Sabbath after his receiving it. (19) This proclamation came before many of the brethren had been otherwise forced to desist, and was on that account particularly sent to them, which strengthened the hands of their opposers. It was moved by some in parliament to take severe courses with some of these ministers in order to terrify the rest. Yet none were nor could be found guilty of any thing deserving punishment, except Mr. James Ker, who had deserted the king's interest, as already related, but yet had returned again to his brethren long before this. He, knowing they might take advantage of this, withdrew with his wife to Scotland, where he died shortly after. (20)

19 This Declaration, 'requiring all persons to conform to church-government by episcopacy and to the liturgy as it is established by law,' was adopted by the Irish house of Lords on the fifteenth of May, on the motion of lord Montgomery of the Ards, who had *twice* solemnly sworn in the covenant to extirpate prelacy. Lords' Journals, i. 234, 5. The following day it was agreed to by the Commons (Journ. i 605.); and was ordered by the lords to be printed and circulated, and to be read by the ministers of Dublin on the first Sabbath, which was the nineteenth of May, and 'by all other ministers through the kingdom on the next Sunday after its coming to their hands.' Lords' Journ. i. 236. An abstract of its contents is given in the tract [See Note 30. p. 210. *ant.*] entitled, "The conduct of the Dissenters, &c." p. 10.

20 In the proceedings of the House of Lords, on the eleventh of June, is the following entry relative to Mr. Ker.—"The bishop of Raphoe recommends a paper from the lords justices to be read.—The said paper read. Ordered, that Mr. Carr of Ballymoney be sent for and brought up by a messenger of this House, to answer the contents of the said paper." Journ. i 246. Mr. Ker evaded this order by escaping to Scotland, so that no fur-

"The parliament of Ireland followed that of England not only in restoring the former way of government and worship, but in making an act for burning the solemn league and covenant. (22) This was accordingly done in all cities and towns through the kingdom, the magistrates in every place being directors and witnesses; (23) which as it was pleasing to the episcopal party and the profane in the land, together with the papists; so it was a sad mark of the times and an evil omen in the eyes of those who had conscientiously engaged in it, to see that sacred oath thus with contempt violated. It had been taken in the north of Ireland

ther notice of him occurs in the Journals. The only other minister whose non-conformity exposed him to the censure of the Lords was Mr. Boyd, who is thus noticed in the proceedings of the twenty-ninth of July, 1661.—"Ordered, that Mr. Boyd of Ahadowy for holding a conventicle at Desertoel [near Garvagh] in the county of Derry, contrary to the Declaration of this house, be examined by the judges of assize who ride that circuit, who are to proceed against him according to the nature of his offence." Journ. i. 273.

22 This order or declaration was passed by the Lords on the twenty-fifth, and by the Commons on the twenty-seventh of May. The covenant is unceremoniously condemned as 'schismatical, seditious and treasonable;' and they order it to be burned in all cities and towns by the common hangman, and require the chief magistrate of the place to be present and see the order executed on the next market-day after its receipt. They conclude by declaring "that whosoever shall, by word or deed, by sign or writing, go about to defend or justify the said treasonable covenant, shall be accounted and esteemed as an enemy to his sacred majesty and to the public peace and tranquillity of his church and kingdom." Lords' Journ. i. 240.

23 The only magistrate in the kingdom who hesitated to burn the covenant was captain John Dalway, mayor of Carrickfergus. He belonged to an ancient and honourable family that, up to a recent period, were the consistent and faithful members of the presbyterian church, and the ardent supporters of civil and religious liberty, for which several of them suffered in the intolerant times of Charles II. and of Anne. On the twenty-ninth of July, 1661, captain Dalway was brought on his knees to the bar of the House of Lords, and fined £100 for not causing the covenant to be burned; but on producing a certificate that he had duly complied with the order of parliament the fine was to be remitted, and he was discharged on payment of his fees. Lords' Journ. i. 273. This incident is not noticed by M'Skimmin in his "History of Carrickfergus."

with great solemnity, as already related; and as long as it was stuck to by those who first engaged in it in Scotland and England, their undertakings were signally blessed. When it was broken and deserted first by the sectarian party in England, confusion in church and state had its rise from their proceedings. Yet in the usurper's time those who were true covenanters were the only persons who stuck to the king's interest, as well as to sound principles in religion; and that in all the three kingdoms. For those who had no liking to it and were opposers of it, were the greatest compliers with the usurpers, and generally took the Engagement in support of the commonwealth without king and house of Lords: whereas the true covenanters did refuse and suffer upon that account, not daring to violate the solemn oath.

This appeared particularly in those parts of Ireland where the covenant had been before administered, and afterwards this engagement pressed with much rigour. Yea, it may be said this oath was one special means of bringing the king to his throne; being looked on then as a king in covenant, who it was, in charity, supposed could not in conscience and honour but pursue the ends of it, which he had so solemnly undertaken both before and at his coronation. However, little opposition or testimony was given against these proceedings in parliament: the party who was otherwise minded partly seeing the current of defection so strong that they thought it was beyond their power to stop the course. The parliaments of England and Scotland had already done the same, and it was accounted a crime to avow the covenant. Neither did that party so much as move for ease to tender consciences in the matter of conformity; although they had ground from the king's declaration at Breda and his declaration after he came home; knowing that if they appeared in any kind against the course of the times it might prejudice their worldly interest. The parliament being then engaged in settling their newly-gotten estates, they said that when once that were finished, they would then

appear. But it was so ordered that they were disappointed in a great measure of their expectations; for the parliament was dissolved, and these matters [respecting the settlement of their estates] left in uncertainty.

"The ministers of the north, in this juncture, gave themselves especially to prayer, and did cry to God for help. They sometimes also privately met together for that end in societies, to encourage one another and take mutual advice how to carry themselves. They thought it their duty, though their hope was very small, to make an essay for some toleration or immunity from the rigour of laws made over their consciences, by petitioning the parliament. For this end they sent three of their number, Mr. John Hart, Mr. Thomas Hall, and Mr. William Richardson to Dublin, with a commission subscribed by all the brethren of several societies; that, as they were advised by friends in Dublin, they might present a petition to parliament in their own and brethren's names. Accordingly they went thither and drew up a petition, but could not get it presented; their best friends in Dublin advising them to return home, after long attendance for an opportunity, and wait there on God for a better time. In this petition the brethren owned their conscientious and peaceable subjection to the laws either actively wherein they found clearness, or passively wherein they were of a different persuasion. They declared what had been their carriage in the usurper's time in general; and they annexed to it a particular narrative of their actings and sufferings during that period, of their address and petition to the king on his return, of his majesty's gracious answers to them, as well as his declaration at Breda, and other grounds of hope that he had given to those who were of tender consciences, being otherwise good subjects. Notwithstanding these things, they complained of their present usage by the bishops: and petitioned for liberty to preach the gospel without those impositions to which they could not agree with peace to their consciences. This was the substance of that petition which could not have access to be read in the parliament.

"This essay failing, the ministers generally took themselves to the houses that they had either formerly of their own, or had lately built in their several parishes; and judged it their duty, as far as it was possible, to stay among their people, and to take such opportunities for their edification as the times could admit: partly conversing with them singly in private, and partly gathering them at convenient times in small companies, and exhorting them from the word. They resolved to go about their duty with as great prudence as they could; considering they had many adversaries and watchful eyes upon them, and not a few to represent them to the magistrate as disloyal and rebellious persons, if any ground had been given. They thought it more suitable to their case and more profitable to their flocks to do somewhat among them in a private way, without noise or alarming the magistrate, and thus continue among their people; than to appear publickly in preaching in the fields, which could have lasted but a very short time, and would have deprived them of the opportunity of ordinarily residing among their people; which, in the case of some who took another course, came to pass.

"For at this time, there were two or three young men (23) who had come from Scotland, and had been but lately ordained by the presbytery here; and who, intending to return to Scotland and put themselves out of the bishop's reverence [jurisdiction] in this country, resolved to do some good before they went. They therefore called the people to solemn and great meetings, sometimes in the night and sometimes in the day, in solitary places whither people in great abundance and with great alacrity and applause flocked to them. There they spoke much against the bishops and the times. This matter of preaching, as it was in itself commendable and faithful when rightly managed, did exceedingly please most people.

[23] These were Michael Bruce of Killinchy, John Crookshanks of Raphoe, and Andrew M'Cormick of Magherally. The reader will find subsequent mention made of them.

These men were cried up as the only courageous, faithful, and zealous ministers by the common sort of people, and by those who had great zeal but little judgment or experience; though not approved of by the more serious, prudent and experienced Christians. The manner of it in daring the magistrate openly, and calling great assemblies together in despite of authority, was by that sort of people thought great stoutness and gallantry.

"The people upon this not only countenanced and cried them up, but liberally contributed for them; generally neglecting their own ministers who laboured more privately, and in some sort with greater difficulty among them. Thus they continued for a considerable time, going from one place and from one parish to another, as well as from one county to another, under disguise and oft in the night-time. Although the magistrate heard and took great notice of it, yet they were not for a long time owned, in order to see if the rest would follow their steps; which many were longing for, that so they might have greater ground to accuse the whole Scottish presbyterians of designs of rebellion; which many were oft suggesting to the duke of Ormond, but could not get grounds to build their accusations upon. Only they made use of this practice of these young men, as much as they could, for a reflection upon the whole. And indeed all the rest of the ministers at this time were in a very dangerous and sad case. They were beaten with rods on all hands. Being put from the public ministry by the magistrate, they must walk prudently and peaceably; and yet for a time are counted fools and frantic for the sake of a few of their number, though they endeavoured with hazard and more than ordinary trouble to be useful to their congregations, as the times could bear. But yet they are counted timorous cowards, and all they did was nothing, because they went not to the hills. They lived upon any small thing they had of their own among their people, without maintenance from them; and yet must see others bountifully gratified. They must walk prudently; and yet keep up union and affection with an im-

prudent people. They were convinced of the imprudence of these men; and yet must not disapprove of them lest they lose their people. They saw themselves in little quietness and great hazard from the magistrate; and yet dared not in conscience lay the blame on those who occasioned their hazard.

"I am far from judging these young men, or questioning the integrity or good intentions of any of them. I am persuaded of one of them, Mr. Michael Bruce, who was most noticed and indeed did most good at that time, that he was a person singularly gifted, truly zealous and faithful, but also peaceable and orderly in his temper and conversation with his brethren, and in his whole way a very Nathaniel; of all which he hath given proof in the church of Christ for many years since that time. This I judge a duty to say lest any blot should remain on that truly godly and worthy brother. He was then but a youth, and so were the rest. They considered not what hazard their way brought on the whole brethren from the magistrate in depriving them of the small opportunity they had to do good among their people, nor how it occasioned contempt and reflection from the more injudicious and uncharitable of the people, who usually are the greatest number; nor yet how it cut themselves short of occasion to do more good to their own congregations, if they had carried themselves more privately and prudently. For within a short time they were forced to flee the country (24) without the benefit of their presence and labouring among them as others did, to the great advantage of their flocks. Now the people, who had so much cried up the carriage and zeal of these youths before, and condemned the way of the rest of the ministers, soon saw the imprudence of the one,

[24] So early as the 17th of September in this year, the Scottish council of state ordered a letter to be written to the Sheriff of Clydesdale, to apprehend two fugitive ministers from Ireland and transmit them to Edinburgh. Wodrow, i. 221. "It seems plain," adds Wodrow, "that they were two presbyterian ministers who had fled over from the persecution of the prelates in Ireland;" but he was unable to ascertain their names.

and the true prudence and courage of the other, in sticking to them under difficulties and discouragements around them. They were convinced of this more and more when that way the prudenter ministers took, did, by degrees and insensibly without much observation of the magistrate, make way for the more public exercise of their ministry, as afterwards it proved. And it is to be observed that the faithful ministers of Ireland, the first planters of the gospel in these bounds, when they were put from the public exercise of their ministry by the bishops, did not use that way of gathering the people to the fields. But they dwelt privately in their houses, and received as many as came to them of their own parishes; though they had greater provocations to do so, because they got not the same liberty, but were shortly after chased out of the country by pursuivants from Dublin.

"And let the reader know the end for which this passage has been observed:—not to reflect on honest men, but to caution and tell ministers who are embodied with a society of godly ministers, and by their solemn engagements at their ordination obliged to walk in subordination to their brethren; that they take not singular courses of their own in such cases, though sometimes it may look like zeal; nor yet walk in a separate way, especially where they may have the advice of their brethren. For a society of godly ministers may expect more assistance and light than a single person. Besides, to my observation and that of many others it hath been found that brethren, who have taken these singular courses of their own in this church, divers of whom might be instanced both of our own number and coming from Scotland since these times, have within a very short time been rendered useless in it; and some of them deprived all the rest of a great measure of that extraordinary respect and applause which they had from the people; wherein the hand of God might have been seen. I only except that worthy brother before mentioned, who did what he did in the singleness of his heart; and who, after long and sharp sufferings both in

Scotland and in England, returned to this church and was eminently useful in it."

On the fourth of November the Duke of Ormond, now in distinguished favour at court, was nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland; but he did not come over till July in the following year. The lords justices in the meantime continued in office, and conducted the government upon the same principles of blind subjection to the prelates, by which they had been hitherto guided. Whenever their own prudence or leniency induced them to relax somewhat of the rigour of the penal statutes against non-conformity, the vigilant and intolerant bishops soon called for renewed severities. In the beginning of the year 1662, in compliance with petitions from the Romanists whom Charles was already desirous of favouring, and who had been indicted under the statute of Elizabeth for not attending the service of the established church, the lords justices had directed the judges of assize in the several circuits to suspend, till further orders, the execution of that penal statute. "Soon after" writes lord Orrery in the month of April to the duke of Ormond, "the non-conformists of the north, being also indicted for the same offences, we gave the like orders for them; but would not dispense with the penalties of the law to such as should hold unlawful assemblies or conventicles. Though we would connive at their not doing what they should, yet we would not connive at their doing what they should not." Alarmed at these indications of toleration, the bishops immediately waited on the lords justices; and after declaiming against the pernicious effects of such measures, and the danger thereby accruing to the church, they persuaded them to issue a proclamation, dated the thirtieth of April, in which they state that as 'recusants, non-conformists and sectaries had grown worse by clemency,' no further indulgence would be granted by the state. (25) At length on the twenty-seventh of July, Ormond

[25] Orrery's State Letters, i. 109. It is singular that Ware in his Annals (*apud an.*) and Cox in his History (ii. Char. II. 4.) style this proclamation an

arrived from England, and on the following day was formally sworn into office as 'lord lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland.' His policy towards the presbyterians continued the same as that of the lords justices. He was disposed to sympathize with them for their former sufferings on behalf of the king and to tolerate them so long as they lived peaceably and did not excite the jealousy of the bishops; but he was too ready at the instigation of their ecclesiastical foes, to abridge their freedom and visit them with penalties. On the whole, the general mildness of his administration, which continued during seven years, presented a remarkable contrast to the unprecedented severity with which the non-conformists and presbyterians were treated at this period both in England and in Scotland.

"Throughout this year, 1662, the poor afflicted ministers in the country continued in performance of what duty they could to their people, as the times would permit; and in peaceableness and loyalty to the magistrate. Yet they could not guard against the calumnies and misrepresentations of their observing adversaries clergymen and others, who cast aspersions upon them to the duke, both as to their principles and practices. The lord Massareene, their constant and great

indulgence to dissenters; though Lord Orrery's statement and the preamble, which is all that I could discover, of the proclamation itself (See "Conduct of the Diss." p. 11) clearly show that it was designed to repress, and not to favour, the non-conformists.—Lord Orrery, in the remaining part of his letter to Ormond, thus states the difficulty and hazard attendant on a rigid execution of the penal laws. "The thing is very weighty in its consequences, and difficult in the resolution; and therefore your grace's judgment, which I humbly beg, is most requisite for our guidance. If the laws be fully put in execution, ten parts of eleven of the people will be dissatisfied; if they be not put in execution, the church will be dissatisfied and sects and heresies continued, I doubt, for ever; and if any of the sects be indulged, it will be partiality not to indulge to all; if none be favoured, it may be unsafe. This is to me a short state of the case, and too true a one. If England and Scotland fall roundly upon the papists and non-conformists, and we do not, Ireland will be the sink to receive them all. If they are fallen upon equally in the three kingdoms, may not they all unite to disturb the peace?" Letters, *ut supra*.

friend, dwelling then at Dublin and being one of the privy council, and searching into all affairs, particularly what concerned the ministers of the north, he wrote to some of the ministers of his acquaintance, shewing it was convenient for them and their brethren to offer a vindication of themselves from the many informations that were given in against them to the lord lieutenant. He also sent a draught of that vindication to them to consider if they could subscribe it. The draught was fair, giving an account of their principles particularly as to loyalty, with a narrative of their actings and sufferings for the king. Yet the brethren considering this particular way was not required by the duke but only my lord Massareene's overture; and withal that it was dangerous to draw up such a paper so as to please court lords, without saying more than was right and suitable to their consciences; therefore they judged it more fit to forbear a particular vindication. Yet they found themselves necessitated to do something. For my lord Massareene, hearing many specches against them among the great ones in Dublin, told the duke and some of the council that he expected some of the Scotch ministers to be shortly in Dublin to vindicate themselves. The brethren understanding this sent three of their number, viz. Messrs. Patrick Adair, Andrew Stuart, and William Semple to Dublin. They gave them instructions to consult with lord Massareene about their case, and a commission to make their application to the duke for some token of his favour in their present case, as they should find convenient, or should be advised by lord Massareene and their friends there.

" Accordingly these brethren went about the beginning of August 1662, and continued there till the end of October. At their first coming to Dublin, instead of a vindication they drew up a petition to be presented to the duke to the same purpose as the petition mentioned before that was intended for the parliament, owning their principles and begging immunity from bishops and ceremonies. They also gave in another paper shewing the reasonable ground they had for

humbly expecting a favourable answer from his grace. The duke was informed immediately of their coming to town; and they continued there a fortnight before they presented their petition, or made any application to him. This was owing to my lord Massareene's persuasion, the ground whereof was this. That noble lord being truly concerned for the liberty and comfort of both ministers and people in the north, as well as of the whole non-conformists of Ireland, did of himself devise some overtures which, if complied with, might be a favour to non-conformists and a service to the king and kingdom. Of these he had discoursed to the duke. He essayed to get them accepted in favour of all non-conformists; and he thought that these being granted, it would make the ministers' application easy. But the duke said, he had not power to comply with them, neither was he forward for any such motions in favour of non-conformists. These proposals, therefore, vanished. Meantime the duke, knowing of the ministers being in town, became jealous and angry that they did not make application to him. He said to the lord Montgomery [now Earl of Mount-Alexander] and to Sir Arthur Forbes that since they came not, he would send for them. When the brethren heard this, the next day they presented the petition to himself, being introduced by lord Massareene. After inquiring if they had any more to say and they answered, nothing; he said he would do what was incumbent for him. The next day he said to the former noble persons, being familiar with them, that he was in a strait what to do with these ministers; for by their petition he perceived they had suffered FOR the king, and now they were like to suffer UNDER the king.

" After waiting several days, the ministers came to one of the duke's secretaries, Sir George Lane, to remind him of their petition and its answer. He gave them some queries from the duke to answer in writing: 1. What those things were wherein they scrupled to act? 2. Who were the persons that wronged them and wherein? 3. Who of them were put from their houses? And 4. who they were for whom they

petitioned? They answered to the first, that, having been ordained ministers of the gospel by presbyters, they were altogether unclear to receive another ordination; and withal they replied that however they were clear for the doctrinal articles contained in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, as well as for the doctrines contained in the articles of Ireland concluded in the convocation at Dublin in 1615, yet they were not clear to worship God according to the forms and ceremonies prescribed in the book of common-prayer. To the second they answered, that albeit they incline not to complain of grievances, that not being their present aim nor the aim of these other ministers, yet it is evident that for non-conformity several of their ministers were in hazard of suffering by the civil law, and of excommunication by ecclesiastical courts, before which some of them were standing already processed, as well as of other sad consequences of that sentence; the names of these being particularly expressed by the brethren. To the third query they answered, that divers particular persons might have grievances of this nature, yet they did studiously in their petition forbear to mention these things, lest they should be thought more sensible of inferior losses than the great loss of their ministry; and lest they should seem to doubt of the justice of those who were appointed to hear and redress such grievances. To the fourth and last query they gave the duke a list, being the same persons who subscribed the address to the king about two years before.

"After divers days' attendance they got that paper given to the duke. Thereafter he caused their petition to be read in council and the other papers all subscribed by the ministers, as was by him required. Divers in the council and such bishops as were present spake against the ministers and their papers with great animosity and indignation; and said they should be punished for contumacy and open professing against the laws; and that it was unfit they should have liberty to live among people to poison them. There were also reflections upon them as they were Scotch presbyterians,

and some remembered the oppressions done by the Scotch army while they were in Ulster. Others held their peace. My lord Massareene with no less boldness and animosity for them. The duke himself was moderate; he said they were unhappy who first suffered FOR the king, and then suffered UNDER him; and he thought it just that what the king had promised them should be performed, and said that what these ministers had spoken in their petition or answer to his queries, should not tend to their prejudice, since they spake their conscience, and since he himself had required them to subscribe it. He said he resolved to give no answer till he had examined the truth of their assertions anent the king's promises. My lord Anglesey, being present at that time, was questioned in it. But he stifled any testimony that might seem to displease, and said he was no presbyterian. My lord Massareene openly told him that he sometimes professed the contrary; and that if he did not faithfully witness what he had heard from the king, God would make it meet with him another day. The brethren thereafter gave him a paper putting him in remembrance of what the king had said when he was present, in which the king had spoken to the ministers in their application to him as a friend and with a kind of familiarity. After this the brethren were informed that lord Anglesey did own the paper they had given in, as a narrative of the brethren's answer from the king. But after much attendance and means used with all who seemed to be friends, and after intercession with the duke, and after many fair promises, the result of all was that they must live according to the law, that they might serve God in their own families without gathering multitudes together, they living peaceably and to that purpose. This answer was left in writing the very hour the duke was taking his horse for Kilkenny; and with difficulty a copy only was obtained by the ministers, but not the original.

"After these brethren had returned home, the young men formerly mentioned, then remaining in the country, took the more liberty, and inconsiderate people took advantage, as if

the duke had granted the brethren some great thing. This being observed by the bishops, they sent a complaint to the duke that he had given liberty to the non-conformists. Upon which he sent a copy of the paper to them, but not to the brethren who had so long and with so great weariness waited on him. However, the brethren this year, following their former courses, lived without great molestation; performing what duty they could to their several parishes, and having their private societies one with another; in which they began to think of a way not only of constant correspondence together, but of walking harmoniously in these times of trouble and difficulty. They had their meetings together to that purpose, and had correspondents from one meeting to another, as they could overtake."

Thus, after a gloomy period of nearly two years' duration, the dark and portentous cloud which enveloped the church began to break and afford a glimmering of sunshine, and some prospect of returning peace. But the intrigues of a few restless and ambitious men in Dublin, with whom one or two ministers in Ulster chanced to be very remotely connected, unhappily destroyed this favourable hope of tranquillity for the church, and exposed the ministers to renewed sufferings.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Blood's plot—Unsuccessful attempt to engage the presbyterians in it—Conspirators apprehended—Three ministers summoned to Dublin—The ministers of Down and Antrim imprisoned—Scots disarmed—Examination of Stewart and Greg—Four of the conspirators executed—Ulster ministers forced to leave the kingdom—A few permitted to remain—Bishop Leslie imprisons four ministers during six years—Various attempts to procure their liberation—Gradual improvement in the condition of the church in Ulster—Ministers return by degrees—Causes of this favourable change—Lord Roberts, the lord lieutenant, favours the presbyterians—A general committee established in lieu of a synod—Its first acts—Sends contributions to the Scottish exiles in Holland—Jealousy of the episcopal clergy—Boyle, bishop of Down, summons twelve ministers to his court—Sir Arthur Forbes interferes in their behalf—Deaths of several ministers in Down and Antrim—Bishop Boyle prohibited by the primate from proceeding against the ministers—A seasonable relief to the church—Contrasted with the persecutions in the sister kingdoms—Meeting-houses erected—Accident in Dublin—Case of David Houston—Rules for ordination—Pension granted by Charles II.—Fast in the Lagan—Four ministers imprisoned—Presbyterians again subjected to persecution.

The government of Ireland, after the Restoration, was conducted with considerable ability and success. Many conflicting interests and claims were peaceably adjusted; the adventurers were satisfied, the army reduced, the church restored, the Romanists pacified, the numerous sectaries that prevailed in Leinster and Munster repressed, while no popular commotion during three years disturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom. A secret conspiracy, however, had during the last year been formed by a few disappointed and restless

spirits, the detection of which interrupted for a time the public peace, and involved many innocent persons, especially among the presbyterian ministers of Ulster, in serious difficulties. This conspiracy is generally known by the name of BLOOD'S PLOT, the origin, progress and consequences of which are thus detailed by Adair:—

"In December 1662, there was a ground laid for trouble not only to non-conformists in other parts of Ireland, but to the ministers and people of the north. There was then in Ireland a considerable number of old Cromwellists, as they were called, who had a rooted antipathy to the king's government, and some profession of religion, such as it was. These in and about Dublin finding themselves not in the condition they had been in before the king's restoration, and finding oppression by bishops and by other ways growing upon them, began to contrive amongst themselves an overturning of the state of bishops and rectifying the civil government, and restraining the papists from that great liberty and countenance they had enjoyed, and furthermore securing a liberty of conscience to themselves as they had enjoyed in Cromwell's time. About this they consulted much with one another in Dublin in their meetings for that purpose, and agreed amongst themselves in their design. They had many considerable persons both of the country and army who were privy to it and secret favourers of it, who would not yet appear. They sent to England to acquaint others of their principles there, and acquainted them with it, and were approved and promised assistance, if need required. One Thomas Blood was a principal actor in this contrivance. He had for some time been an officer in the king's army against the first parliament, and was a true cavalier. Thereafter he had come to Ireland, where he had some interest in land near Dublin; and falling into much acquaintance with one Mr. Lecky, his brother-in-law, a minister of the presbyterian persuasion and a man of good discourse and learning, he was drawn to own presbyterian principles. Thereafter, by the instigation of Lecky and others, he was persuaded to engage

as the principal actor in this plot; being a person singularly fitted for such a design, in regard of courage, subtilty, strength of body and great spirit, and who had experience in martial affairs. This man, with his associates, having had many consultations among themselves, thought it fit to try if they could draw in the presbyterians of the north to join with them; they pretending the ends of the covenant with them.

"Accordingly Blood and Lecky, by the advice and consent of the rest, came to the north to try the ministers and best of the people there. They first visited Mr. Greg, Mr. Stewart [Donaghadee], and Captain James Moor of Ballybrega [in Killinchy], calling them together to Mr. Greg's house, where they proposed their business to them, aggravating the iniquities of the times, the usurpation of the bishops, the tyranny of their courts, the increase of popery, and misgovernment in every affair. As to what concerned the good of the people, they declared there were a number, very considerable and well-wishers to a reformation, desiring a redress of these things, yet without wronging the king's just authority, and were engaged in that design, if the ministers and people of these parts would concur, it might be an acceptable service and much promote the cause. They declared not the particular way how to get their design effected; but said, if these three men would send to Dublin their thoughts of it, and any assurance of concurrence, they would then know the particular methods which were to be followed in the design. The three persons that were thus applied unto, being unacquainted with any such motions, were at first amazed at the folly or knavery, or both, of these so despicable persons, who looked more like trepanners than any thing else. They desired two things of them, first, that they would utter nothing prejudicial to lawful authority in their hearing; and secondly, that being neither acquainted with the ends they aimed at, nor the means they thought of, they could say nothing but in general, that God's ends by lawful means when proposed could not be rejected by good

men; but withal they told them, that if they intended any secret evil, what a slander it should be to their profession who were never seen to plot unlawfully for shunning what troubles God brought them unto. As for going to Dublin, they would know shortly whether they would do it or not, and so they parted.

"Being thus discouraged by these three, to whom they opened their business, they made no further attempt upon any in Down or Antrim; but went to Lagan and Armagh, where they met with the like discouragement, except from one or two ministers, who afterwards were discovered to be of their mind; viz. Mr. M'Cormick [Magherally], and Mr. Crookshanks [Raphoe]. From that they went to the south and west of Ireland, where they drew their purpose to a great height; yet they never corresponded more with any in the north, or with the Scotch, who gave them nothing but discouragement. Notwithstanding they, by their private consultations and meetings at Dublin, and correspondence with their confederates in other parts of Ireland, carried on their business. But there being one admitted to their secret contrivances in Dublin, who secretly opened their whole designs and proceedings to the duke, the duke commanded him to continue in their society, and daily inform him of their proceedings, till the time they thought their business ripe. They were at length prevented and surprised on the twenty-second of May, 1663. The plotters had appointed that morning to be the time wherein they would first surprise the castle of Dublin, and take the duke's person into custody. For that end they had a considerable party in the town over night, chief men of that party, with a considerable number of men ready for their purpose. But their whole motion being known to the duke, he that morning prevented them, and apprehended the principal persons, among whom was Mr. William Lecky;(1) only Blood

[1] The persons seized were colonel Alex. Jephson, Mr. Bond, a merchant and a native of Scotland, Rev. W. Lecky, colonel Thos. Scott, M. P., colonel Edward Warren, major Henry Jones, captain John Chambers,

escaped, who may be called the head of the plot. There was found among them their intended declaration, wherein they pretended the ends of the covenant, shewing the necessity of taking up arms because of the growth of popery and the oppression of the bishops. (2) But they were generally persons of Oliver's party, who, before that, had forsaken the covenant; though it was alleged that a party of the standing army was engaged with them, but persons of no right or solid principles. There was also found an account of the names of those principally engaged; but no mention of the three in the north to whom Blood and Lecky had before applied; for these men had given Blood no encouragement or ground to expect any concurrence from them. Neither did those three reveal the matter to their brethren, lest the revealing of it should prove occasion of trouble to their brethren thereafter.

"Notwithstanding, the duke remembering that Messrs. Adair, Stewart and Semple had been a considerable time in Dublin about half a year before this, and knowing the plotters had begun to meditate their business about that time, he became jealous of these three, and immediately sent orders to apprehend them, and send them up to Dublin by a guard. But the lord Mount-Alexander, having special acquaintance with Mr. Stewart, and being persuaded of his loyalty, interceded with the duke that he should not be sent for. Though my lord Massareene was a privy counsellor, yet he knew not, at the first, of sending for Mr. Adair. But upon

M. P., Major Richard Thompson, deputy provost-marshall of Leinster, John Foulk, son to the former governor of Drogheda, James Tanner, clerk to Henry Cromwell's private secretary, and about fourteen others. On the 26th of May a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 100*l.* for the apprehension of colonel Blood, colonel Gibby Car, who had recently come over to Dublin from Scotland, lieutenant-colonel Abel Warren, M. P., the Rev. Andrew M^c^ Cormick, and the Rev. Robert Chambers [Dublin], nonconformist ministers, who had succeeded in making their escape. Carte, ii. 269.

[2] A copy of this Declaration is given in M^c^ Crie's Memoirs of Veitch and Bryson, pp. No. ix. page 508.

knowledge of it he went to the duke, and spoke as much for Mr. Adair's loyalty, as lord Mount-Alexander had done for Mr. Stewart. He so far prevailed, that Mr. Adair should come of himself to Dublin without a guard, and clear himself to the duke. This letter he wrote to Mr. Adair and sent it by post. But before it came, Mr. Adair had been apprehended in his own house [at Carncastle, between Larne and Glenarm] by a party of the earl of Donegal's troop, and secured close prisoner in the gaol of Carrickfergus for three nights. Lord Massareene also wrote a letter to his lady's nephew, Sir Arthur Chichester, then lieutenant of the troop, declaring the duke's pleasure, and that if Mr. Adair were taken before that letter came, he should use him civilly. This he did accordingly, sending only one trooper along with Mr. Adair in company with him and his servant; and also wrote a favourable letter to the duke by that trooper in Mr. Adair's behalf. When Mr. Adair came to Dublin, that noble lord was pleased to intercede again with the duke, that Mr. Adair should be committed to his custody, he becoming bail for his appearance; which the duke upon perusal of Sir Arthur's letter easily granted. Thus Mr. Adair had a free confinement in lord Massareene's house and the city, for three months thereafter; and though he sent divers petitions to the duke to call and examine him of that plot, yet he was never called nor examined, but after three months he was remanded to his own house by a warrant under the duke's hand, with only a certification that he would live peaceably.

"Meantime Sir Arthur Forbes was in all haste sent to the Lagan, a place of which the duke had great jealousy, to examine the ministers and suspected gentlemen there, which he did, and upon examination found no ground that any in their country were concerned in the plot; except that Mr. John Hart, having been in Dublin upon occasions the winter before, some of the plotters had applied to him, as they had done to the two brethren in Down. But he had rejected the motion; only in his examination he spoke a word unad-

visedly which brought Mr. Thomas Boyd, a worthy man, into great trouble. For in vindicating himself, not remembering what hazard it might bring to Mr. Boyd, he said to Sir Arthur, he had abhorred that motion as Mr. Boyd in Dublin knew. This examination being returned to Dublin gave the duke suspicion that Mr. Boyd was upon the plot; whereas it only had been proposed to him, and he had refused to be concerned in it. Upon which he was immediately apprehended and kept long a close prisoner, and oft sent for to the duke; but would confess nothing that he knew of the plot, not knowing what Mr. Hart had said. This did the more irritate the duke against him, knowing by Mr. Hart's deposition that he had not been ignorant of it: till at last the duke, in a fury and with more threatening language, did show him the deposition. Whereupon he finding no way of evasion was forced to confess the way he knew of it; which was this, that Blood and Lecky, before their going to the north last winter, had proposed the business to him, but he would give no countenance to the design. The duke inquired what they did there; he said, they had spoken to Mr. Greg and Mr. Stewart but heard no more of it; and supposed they had gotten no satisfying answer from these men. This brought these two brethren into much trouble thereafter, and himself hardly escaped the worst. But God's providence wrought for the innocent gentleman, though some hungry courtiers were gaping for his estate. Yet he had many friends by his wife, who were men of quality and interest with the duke.

" But to return to the ministers. Though Mr. Semple [of Letterkenny in Donegal] was in the same order to be apprehended with Mr. Adair, yet being at a great distance, and Sir Arthur Forbes upon examination finding no ground of accusation against him or any of his brethren in the La-

[3] This Mr. Boyd is, I believe, the same person who was afterwards expelled from the House of Commons on account of this plot. He was one of the members for the borough of Bangor in the county of Down. See note (5) of this chapter.

gan except Mr. Hart, he took bail of them to appear when called, and they found no more trouble of this plot. But the noise of the plot becoming great, the duke and those about him could not lay aside their jealousies of the Scotch. Therefore within three weeks after its breaking up, the whole ministers of Down and Antrim, who could be found, were in one day apprehended in the middle of June. The ministers of Antrim were brought to Carrickfergus, where they had liberty to be together in two private houses; and though guards were upon them, yet they had the benefit of mutual society, where they remained for about two months.

"The ministers of Down were at first more hardly dealt with. They were sent to the king's castle at Carlingford, being seven in number, viz. Messrs. John Drysdale, John Greg, Andrew Stewart, Alexander Hutchinson, William Richardson, Gilbert Kennedy (4) and James Gordon. They at first were put or pounded in a narrow room on the top of the house, far from friends or acquaintances, where they were in danger of starving, but that God stirred up the heart of a woman in the place, a stranger called Mrs. Clark, to supply them with necessaries. They were for a fortnight kept very close; till they were advised by Mr. Francis Hamilton, an officer of the company there, to write to my lord Dungannon, who procured them the liberty of the town in the day-time, they returning to their narrow room at night, lying on the floor four or five of them, as it were, in one bed. In the meantime, while the ministers, who never heard of the plot nor had even dreamt of any such thing, were thus upon groundless jealousies used; there came orders for disarming all the Scotch in the country, which were vigorously, closely, and suddenly executed. All men's arms were taken from them, without respect of persons, by what standing forces and

[4] Perhaps Gilbert Kennedy is a mistake of Adair, writing from memory, for Gilbert Ramsay minister of Bangor; and this conjecture is strengthened by the fact, that in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' p. 381, where a list of the imprisoned ministers of Down is given, Mr. Ramsay's name is inserted where Mr. Kennedy's stands in the text.

troops were in the country; though it never came to be known, and it is indeed utterly improbable that any one person in the country had ever known the least of it, except only captain Moor as before related; who, a little after, was sent for and kept close prisoner in the castle of Dublin for a long time. However the people carried peaceably; and their innocence in this matter, together with that of the ministers, did at last appear even to the duke's conviction.

"But the ministers' fears were, within a little, greatly alarmed upon occasion of that passage mentioned before—of Mr. Boyd's discovering the coming of Blood and Lecky to the north, and speaking to Mr. Greg and Mr. Stewart about the plot. When this was known, about the midst of July, orders were immediately sent to the governor of Carlingford to send these men to Dublin with a guard; and that in their coming thither they should have no access to one another, which was accordingly done. For after a month's imprisonment in Carlingford where their mutual society much sweetened their hard lot, these two worthy brethren were taken from the rest, and separately, without any intimation of any thing to them, were sent by two guards that same day to Dublin, and committed immediately to very close prisons among those who were truly upon the plot, without at first any accommodation. They did not see one another by the way coming, nor in the prison till April following. After a few days they were examined in the prison by the earl of Mount-Alexander and the lord Dungannon as to what access they had to the plot. Mr. Stewart, having advice from my lord Massareene conveyed secretly by Mr. Adair's means to him, to be ingenuous in his confession, (my lord being confident that in his circumstances this would be safest for him,) did freely acknowledge what had passed between them and Blood, as was before delivered. Whereupon these lords told him, if there was no more between them there was no hazard to him. But Mr. Greg not having that same advice, it being impossible to get it conveyed to him, which Mr. Stewart had, did upon his examination stand resolutely to

his denial that he knew any thing of the proceedings of that plot; for indeed he did not hear of any thing anent it after Blood's parting from him. But after a day or two, the keepers telling him that Mr. Stewart had confessed all to these lords, he not knowing Mr. Stewart's reason for being so free, wrote a line or two in latin to Mr. Stewart challenging him for his confession to those noblemen, and telling him he had undone himself and them both. This paper he thought secretly to convey by the soldier who kept the door of the prison, and hid it within a paper of confections which he sent to Mr. Stewart in another part of the prison. But the soldiers, suspecting there might be such correspondence, opened the paper and finding this line, carried it to the sergeant-at-arms who kept the prison. He immediately carried it to the duke, who was by it much irritated against Mr. Greg; and it occasioned his being deprived of much favour in prison which Mr. Stewart had. Though this writing of that line was but an inconsiderate act in worthy Mr. Greg and he had hard usage upon that account, yet God had endued him with an invincible spirit, so that he carried his hard usage with great and undaunted courage; being conscious to himself that what he had said to his examiners was true. Yea, the keepers of the prison, who were witnesses of his carriage and Christian magnanimity, confessed he was of a great spirit. Mr. Stewart, within five or six weeks after his imprisonment, had the liberty of the city, being under a thousand pounds bond not to depart the city without leave. But Mr. Greg was kept close prisoner, and therein endured hard usage.

"Meantime the plotters in Dublin were brought to their trial, and only three of them, to wit, a country gentleman and two officers, condemned to die as traitors; which was executed upon them. (5) As for Mr. Lecky, a chief con-

[5] On the second of July colonel Alexander Jephson was tried in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, and found guilty; and on the two following days major Richard Thompson and colonel Edward Warren were also found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to die as traitors. On the fif-

triver together with Mr. Blood his brother-in-law and one of his parish, being kept much more severely than the rest in a low room in the castle in bolts, he fell distracted and so continued for a while. He was sent from that to Newgate, as not being capable to be examined. Here after a while he recovered a little from his distraction, and not being noticed by his keeper, got out one night in his wife's clothes, but was not in a capacity to dispose of himself so as to escape. He was therefore next morning apprehended, and thereafter condemned. Having been a fellow of the college of Dublin and in great respect for a smart scholar and of a good temper, the college petitioned for his life, which was granted if he would conform. But that he refused and chose rather to die. Thereafter he was tempted by some then about court to accuse my lord Massareene of the plot, they being jealous of my lord at that time, and thinking he knew it, being my lord's near kinsman, and upon that should have his pardon. But he abhorred treachery of that nature, and therefore was executed as the former were. (6) These passages I had from

teenth of July, these three conspirators were executed at the Gallows' green near Dublin, and the heads of Warren and Thompson were set upon poles on two of the towers of the castle. Mus. Brit. Donat. MSS. 4784. No. 19. p. 509. At the reassembling of parliament in November 1665, the house of commons suspended and afterwards expelled the following members for having been concerned in this plot: viz. John Ruxton and John Chambers, members for Ardee, Thomas Scott for the county of Wexford, Abel Warren for the city of Kilkenny, Robert Shapcote for the town of Wicklow, Alexander Staples for Strabane, and Thomas Boyd for Bangor. Com. Journ. ii. 340.

6 The following extracts, from the MS. in the British Museum quoted in the preceding Note, corroborate the accuracy of Adair's narrative, and supply the requisite dates.—" July 5. W. Lecky sent back to the castle as being distracted.—November 18, Wednesday, William Lecky, one of the late plotters, was condemned of treason in the King's Bench. The Saturday before he had made an escape out of Newgate prison in woman's apparell. But was apprehended the day following and again committed to prison.—December 12. Lecky was executed at the gallows on Oxmanton Green near Dublin." MS. *ut supra*. On his escape it was supposed he would fly to Ulster; expresses were accordingly despatched to the north to

a credible worthy man, who had them from his own mouth a few days before he died. The rest after a while were let go, and some banished out of the kingdom.

"After the duke had settled the business concerning the plot in Dublin, he, with the advice of the council, sent orders to the ministers of the north, now at Carlingford and Carrickfergus, that either they must desert the kingdom, or go to prisons in other places of Ireland, and that within a fortnight after the order should come to their hands. The prisoners, having these orders sent them, immediately sent a petition to the duke; but this petition, though presented to the duke by the noble Massareene, their fixed old friend, had no return, but the former order must be observed. (7) The brethren were accordingly in a great strait what to choose. However all of them save two, Mr. Keyes and one Mr. John Cathcart [of Drumaul or Randalstown,] chose to depart the kingdom. Mr. Keyes was sent to the town of Galway and Mr. Cathcart to Athlone, where they remained prisoners a considerable time. The rest generally went to Scotland with a pass from some justices of peace in the country; and yet not without bonds and surety given not to return without leave. Those of Antrim who went were Mr. Hall, Mr. Crawford, Messrs. John and James Shaw; and of Down

endeavour to intercept him. The curious reader may see in the Rawdon Papers, pp. 202, 3, how vigilantly lord Conway, then at Lisburn, laid wait for the unfortunate prisoner.

7 This harsh measure was dictated to Ormond by the king himself. Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards lord Arlington, one of the principal secretaries of state, thus wrote to the duke on the 4th of July. "As for the great number of disaffected ministers your grace hath found yourself obliged to take up whilst the late plot was on foot, his majesty is of opinion you should detain in several prisons the most seditious and most dangerous of them, and let the rest go upon security of their good behaviour: the former of which cannot be taken from you to the danger of the public service if, upon demanding their *habeas corpus*, their prisons be changed." And again, on the 4th of August, he directs Ormond to take special care, on liberating any of the ministers, to restrain them from passing either into England or Scotland. Brown's Mis. Aul. pp. 292, 297. The latter order probably came too late, as many ministers had retired to Scotland.

were Mr. Drysdale, Mr. Ramsay, and Mr. Wilson; where God provided for them to live comfortably in a private station, and found many friends beyond their expectation.

"There were divers brethren interceded for to the duke by persons of quality, to have liberty to stay in the country in a private capacity. Mr. Adair had the duke's protection before. Mr. Robert Cunningham had a letter in his favour from my lady Crawford Lindsay, sister to the duke of Hamilton and an acquaintance of the duchess of Ormond. Mr. Gordon and Mr. Richardson had liberty of abiding in the country through procuring of my lady Ards,[8] mother of the earl of Mount-Alexander, and of the countess of Clanbrassil. Mr. Hutchinson remained by my lord Dungannon's intercession. Mr. Hamilton of Killead and Mr. James Cunningham of Antrim were interceded for by my lord Massareene and his lady. Some other ministers of these two counties of Down and Antrim had been out of the country, or out of the way when the rest were apprehended, and were now absconded. The few who were of other meetings or presbyteries had not been at this time troubled. However, the generality of the ministers of the north were at this time either banished, imprisoned, or driven into corners upon occasion of a plot which they knew nothing of, and wherein, upon the narrowest scrutiny, nothing could be found against them, except what was mentioned before of the three brethren Messrs. Hart, Greg, and Stewart; in which these brethren gave no grounds of disloyalty. The matter had been communicated to them in a friendly way, and they rejected it; they thus judged it had been crushed in the bud, and knew nothing of any further progress in it. And they thought it hard and scarcely consistent with candour, to accuse these men, who had, in a friendly confidence in them, represented the sad state of affairs, and

[8] This is the same excellent lady who is mentioned in vol. i. p. 186, note 9. She was now the wife of major-general Robert Monro, who appears to have been resident at this period at or near Comber in the county of Down. See Montg. MSS. pp. 252, 257, 261.

desired to have them to a right channel without prejudice to the king's just authority.

"Thus the few left in the country continued as formerly, endeavouring to converse among their people to their edification as the time would bear. And it is to be observed that after the duke had narrowly searched into the carriage of the Scots in this plot, and had found them unconcerned in it, he did, as some reward of their integrity, give the people in the north indulgence not to be troubled for six months with the official [or ecclesiastical] courts in the matter of non-conformity. (9) And Providence ordered that, during that time, Bramhall the primate died a sudden death, (10) and the bishop of Dublin, one Margetson, succeeded him: a man of a mild spirit, who to ingratiate himself with the people of these parts gave other six months' indulgence: and thereafter the judges of assize had not commission to trouble the people at the assizes for non-conformity. The bishops stormed at this begun favour to non-conformists, and did process many to their courts upon account of non-conformity. But most got off again for money as thereafter; there being wars between the king and the state of Holland wherein he had considerable loss, and all sorts of people being much discontented, the edge of the bishops' fury was much blunted. Meantime the few ministers in the country took every opportunity, and made use of the small advantages they had, to creep up by degrees to the exercise of their ministry, in their own congregations especially. Mr. Stewart, in the month of November after his imprisonment, having been sick in prison and having some special friend, got liberty to return to his house upon bonds given to live amenably to the law, that is, as was by lawyers interpreted to him, only to answer the law if he thought not fit to be conformable to every thing in it. Mr. Greg and captain Moore were released in March, 1664. Thereafter the two brethren, who had chosen imprisonment

[9] Cox, ii. Charles II. p. 6.

[10] Bramhall died at Dublin on the 25th of June 1663, in the seventy-first year of his age.

in Galway and Athlone, were upon bonds released and had liberty to return to their places. The brethren who were banished to Scotland returned by degrees; some a little sooner, some later; at first some few by intercession of friends, others came over thereafter upon their hazard, and so all were restored to their congregations, except Mr. Andrew M'Cormick and Mr. John Crookshanks, (11) who had been upon the plot and fled to Scotland; and not expecting or seeking for pardon in Ireland, did join thereafter with that party in Scotland which was broken at Pentland, and were there both killed. (12) These were zealous men, but walked too much in a separate way from their brethren. They meddled in matters too high for them—for had they walked with their brethren, they might have been useful in their congregations as now the rest of their brethren were; and they would not have brought any scandal of rebellion and disloyalty to the lawful magistrate, upon their profession in Ireland. Yea, Mr. M'Cormick's guilt in the plot, being immediately known after the breaking up of it, occasioned all that jealousy that was had of the rest, and much of that trouble they afterwards met with; though they were utter

[11] Another exception ought to have been made by Adair in the case of the Rev. Michael Bruce of Killinchy who, though not implicated in Blood's plot, was obliged to fly to Scotland in consequence of his over-zealous proceedings already noticed; and having been taken prisoner there and sent to London, he did not return to his congregation for above seven years. On the 23d of June 1664, he and Mr. Crookshanks were summoned before the Scottish council as 'pretended ministers and fugitives from Ireland.' Wodrow, i. 412. Further notices of Mr. Bruce will again occur.

[12] Wodrow, ii. 30, 32. The battle of Pentland was fought on the 28th of November, 1666. The presbyterians were commanded by lieutenant-colonel James Wallace, so frequently mentioned in this volume. After this unsuccessful attempt to rescue his country from the most intolerable tyranny, both civil and religious, he fled to the continent. Mem. of Veitch, &c. pp. 361—76. See Note (22) *postea*. The king's troops at Pentland wer commanded by Dalzell of Binns, also noticed in the preceding pages as an officer of the Scottish army in Ulster under major-general Munro.

strangers to the actings of, and combinations with, the plotting party. (13)

"The brethren about Lagan at this time had had more quiet than those of Down and Antrim upon the occasion above mentioned. But bishop Robert Leslie of Raphoe, son to the old bishop Henry Leslie of Down, who had de-

13 Adair subjoins the following personal notices of these ill-fated brethren. Of Mr. M'CORMICK he says;—"It is a just ground of observation that this man had not the education and learning fit for a minister. For he had been bred a tailor in a country-place, and being then a great professor of religion would, after he had wife and children, go to the university to be bred in order to the ministry. This he did, and stayed for a great while leaving his wife and children in great straits, but profited very little in learning having then all before him, as the tongues, philosophy, divinity, &c.; it was impossible his dull genius with considerable age and little time, could attain to any competency of abilities. Yet he in a short time returned as ready to pass trials, which he did, but with little satisfaction to judicious brethren, save that they looked on him as an honest man, and thought he might be useful in some remote congregation. But when settled in a congregation he competed with the brethren, and when times became confused, pretended a zeal above them all, not without reflecting on his brethren among the common people, as if they all had been but cowards. Thus he followed his own course till he fell into the snare of this plot without acquainting any of them. This," adds Adair, and I cordially repeat the same sentiment, "I have observed here not in order to leave a stain upon the name of a man who in the main was honest; but to be a warning and confirmation of the apostle's command, 'let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.' 1 Cor. vii. 20, and that the profession of religion, though more eminent, should not puff men up to aim at things beyond their reach. God may make use of private men in some cases when the church is destitute of pastors; but where there is not that necessity, and where there are no extraordinary abilities in nature, education or grace, and no learning, the attainments of such persons are hardly or very rarely followed with usefulness in the church of God." Of Mr. CROOKSHANKS, he says;—"Resolving upon a single course of his own, he first went to France a little time before the plot of Ireland; and in Rochelle applying himself to the protestant ministers there to see if he could get employment, they told him it was rather his duty to return to his country and congregation, and adhere to his own people; and if suffering came, it was his duty to suffer with the people for that truth which he had preached unto them. Upon this he returned and was engaged in the plot and thereafter went to

posed the worthy ministers before the rebellion of Ireland, envying that little ease and quiet of the ministers, summoned four of them to his court, to wit, Messrs. John Hart [Taughboyne], Thomas Drummond [Ramelton], William Semple [Letterkenny], and Adam White [Fannet]. They not answering his summons, he did at first pass the sentence of excommunication upon them; and before they could appear, he issued a writ 'de excommunicato capiendo' against them, and apprehended and imprisoned them without bail or mainprize. They were by the bishop appointed for the common gaol at Lifford; but through the indulgence of the sheriff, they were permitted to dwell together in a house in the town, and all their friends had access to them. They were prisoners for SIX YEARS, though they used all means possible and their friends for them, for their enlargement; and it was near the end of the year 1670 before they were released.

"They had taken various steps for this purpose. First, they petitioned the earl of Ossory [son of the duke of Ormond] being then deputy of Ireland in his father's absence in England in the year 1664-5; and thereafter obtained an order for enlargement, but it was obstructed by the bishop of Raphoe. Secondly, they procured a 'habeas corpus' to have their business tried before the court of King's Bench, but there they had not relief. Thirdly, they removed their business into the court of Chancery; but there they met with nothing but revilings from the chancellor, who was archbishop of Dublin, and their case made worse even by their being put into the sheriff's custody and sent to the gaol of Lifford, in which town they continued prisoners nearly four years. Lord Roberts in his short time [when lord-lieutenant] had

Scotland." Mr. Crookshanks was originally from Derry, where several respectable families of that name still reside. He left a son, as appears from the following entry in the minutes of the presbytery of Lagan: "March, 1674-5. The people of Raphoe by their letter desire the presbytery would take care of the education of Mr. John Crookshanks' son, a hopeful youth.—The meeting appoint Mr. Hart and Mr. Campbell to speak about this matter to the relations of the young man in Derry."

dealt for them; and Sir Arthur Forbes had frequently interceded with bishop Leslie, then his relation by marriage with his niece. But the bishop was inexorable, and upbraided the rest of the bishops for their slackness; whereas if they had taken the course he had done, the presbyterians might easily have been crushed. All justice thus failing them in Ireland, God stirred up a person of quality to represent their case to the king. Being informed of this, they sent over a petition to his majesty for their deliverance; who, having information that they had been sufferers for him and had suffered long imprisonment only for not appearing before the bishop's court, which was contrary to their principles, and having this information from lawyers, he wrote to the lord-lieutenant and commanded their releasement; which was accordingly performed in October, 1670, after they had waited for above half-a-year for his answer; and had, in the meantime, been refused releasement by the primate, who had been civil to the brethren of Down, except they took the oath of supremacy. (14) But it is to be here observed that this bishop Leslie, as he did inherit his father's persecuting spirit, so in these times he became a mere epicure, giving himself excessively to eating and drinking; whereupon being of a robust body, he became so fat and heavy that he could not go alone but as men supported his arms. He shortly after died suddenly and with great horror of conscience [in the year 1672]."

During the tedious imprisonment of these brethren, so obstinately prolonged by the implacable prelate, whose unenviable notoriety as a persecutor fully equals that of his father, the affairs of the presbyterian church, as if in mockery of this vain attempt to effect its ruin, continued to prosper. Leslie's example was not followed by the other prelates of Ulster; and the duke of Ormond, convinced of the loyalty and peace-

[14] This interesting detail of the several unsuccessful attempts made by these brethren to obtain their liberty, is rather confusedly given by Adair; but a little transposition was all that was necessary to reduce his narrative into the proper order in which it is given above.

ableness of the presbyterians, refrained from harassing them for non-conformity. The persecution of their brethren in Scotland being now at its height, this lenity of the Irish government was the more remarkable and providential. The movements of the Ulster Scots were indeed vigilantly observed, (15) and all communication with Scotland rigorously interdicted; but except the removal of their arms, they suffered no other privations from the state. The oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts and the exorbitant demands of the established clergy for tithes, constituted the principal grievances to which they were exposed. These, however, did not impede the revival of their religious worship and discipline, which the unmolested return of their ministers, after the year 1664, enabled them slowly and prudently to accomplish; so that in the course of four or five years the presbyterian church in Ulster had nearly recovered its former position in the province. Adair thus states the several circumstances which, under the ever-living Head of the church, conspired to effect this surprising renovation, and to enable our fathers to say, with the sacred historian:—(16) "And now for a little space grace hath been showed from the Lord our God, to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place,

[15] See Brown's Mis. Aul. p. 429. A few persons suspected of being concerned in the tumults in Scotland were ordered to be apprehended immediately after the battle of Pentland already noticed; I have not however found any mentioned by name except the following person. Lord Dungannon thus writes from Dublin, December, 18, 1666, to Sir George Rawdon at Lisburn. "By the last post I sent orders to your lieutenant for the securing and sending up hither of major Montgomery, the horse-breeder in the county of Derry. He is one that is very troublesome and keeps a non-conformist minister at his house, having made a convenient place for 500 auditors to meet in. This day my Lord Lieutenant wished me to write to you, that if your officer had not taken him already, that he should endeavour to do it just at their preaching time, and so to take him and his preacher together, and as many priests more as should be there. Let his chaplain be sent to the county-jail, and himself sent hither as the first order directed." Rawdon Papers, p. 222. It appears from the Essex State Letters, p. 12, that the major was suspected of having been at Pentland, and that he was not arrested at this period.

[16] Ezra, ix. 8, 9.

that our God may lighten our eyes and give us a little reviving in our bondage,—to set up the house of our God and to repair the desolations thereof!"

"Meantime the brethren, now returned and returning to their own homes, continued to be as useful as they could in their parishes, and had their private intercourse for mutual advice and strengthening one another's hands in these times. And thus, insensibly to the civil rulers, they took liberty to preach more publickly in barns, and such places in their parishes where the bulk of the people met, and did in the night administer the sacrament to them; and by degrees they attained to such freedom that in the year 1668 they begun in divers places to build preaching houses, and there they met publickly and performed all ordinances in a public way. They had also their monthly meetings [or presbyteries] among themselves in convenient private houses in the country, where they began to revive discipline, examining the carriage of one another and bringing scandalous persons to acknowledgment of their scandals, in some ordinary cases before the session and in the congregation itself, and in greater scandals before the presbytery. In these things they, not finding present opposition and with some eye to God's protection, made an adventure; and it pleased the Lord to bless their first essay with success. It was no compliance with bishops, nor was it any application to the court at this time which tended to any liberty they had; but the observable Providence of God who made the following divers things to concur in it.

"First, the edge of the magistrates' fury had been much blunted in their former causeless oppressing of the ministers, especially on occasion of that plot before mentioned. Secondly, they had found the ministers' loyalty when they had searched to the bottom. Thirdly, they now began to see that what the ministers did it was from conscience, for God helped them to go about their work peaceably and painfully under divers disadvantages. They had the jealous eye of the magistrate over them; the envious eye of the clergy, so called, watching

for their halting; the people generally, for seven years together after their first ejectment, forsaking the ministers as to their maintenance, even when they were living among them and doing what they could for them; only it is not to be denied they had the people's affectionate respect, and some small accidental kindnesses from some particular persons, which however amounted to very little as to the support of their families. The people too were convinced of the ministers' constancy; under a variety of times, troubles and sufferings, they were the same; and the Lord helped them to some liveliness in preaching, and the people to some hunger in hearing the word, after this little beginning of a life from the dead. These things made the people adhere, so far as was possible, to their ministers, and attend the ordinances administered by them at the times and places that were appointed.

"Again, the present legal church-men became more and more distasteful to the people of all sorts. Men of estates found their tenants oppressed, impoverished, and rendered unable to pay their rents, through the covetousness and draining of the superior clergy by their rents and tithes; but especially by the official courts which were a heavy plague upon the people through their cruelty and unreasonable exactions for non-conformity, arbitrarily governing all; their lust, covetousness and power being their only rule, especially where they knew any thing was to be had. This disgusted the people and made them cling more affectionately to the painful and laborious ministers of the presbyterian persuasion, who had now attained to considerable countenance in the country. But there was like to be an interruption. For there was an information sent to the lord Ossory, when lord deputy in his father's absence, from some unfriends in the north, that the ministers were setting up their presbyteries as openly as ever, and that they were renewing the solemn league and covenant among the people. Upon which he called Sir Arthur Forbes and bid him try if these informations were true, not without threatenings if it proved so. Sir

Arthur caused a Scotch gentleman, who had special acquaintance with some of the number, to write and signify to them that there were such informations given. This a brother immediately answered shewing that these informations were false, which satisfied the lord Ossory."

Owing to these causes, therefore, at the beginning of the year 1669, the presbyterian church in Ulster had attained to considerable freedom. Presbyteries were again organized, though it was necessary to hold their meetings in private houses, and to dispense with the attendance of ruling elders; parishes, whose ministers had died or removed, were regularly visited by members of presbytery, and public worship resumed; houses were erected in several places, for the accommodation of those who refused to frequent their parish churches, now either exclusively occupied by the episcopalian clergy, or else so ruined as to be unfit for use; (17) the

17 The state of the parish churches throughout the rural parts of Ulster may be inferred from the following curious extracts from a Representation to the London Companies made in 1670 by Dr. Mossom, bishop of Derry, in order to procure assistance from their funds. The bishop went over to London in that year, and having petitioned the king in council for a recommendation of his case to the Irish Society, which was granted on the 13th of May, he laid before them the following "Representation of the present state of the city and county of Londonderry, in several great concernments thereof;" which I found among the MSS. in the British Museum and from which I made the following extracts. "1. The churches, especially those within the twelve London proportions, are generally ruinous, and not one, except that within the city, is in repair and accommodation fit for God's worship; neither are the inhabitants, such is their extreme poverty, any ways able to rebuild or repair them: So that the holy offices of God's public worship are, for the most part, administered either in a dirty cabin or in a common ale-house. 3. Not only the churches are ruinous but also the ministers are generally and necessarily non-resident, not having any houses upon their cures, not being able, through meanness of estate and numerousness of their families, to build themselves houses, nor can they find habitations to be hired upon the place. 4. The country is generally so impoverished through want of trade that the tenants cannot pay their rents; no, not when harassed by taking distresses, and much land hath been laid waste of late and more is daily so, which threateneth an undoing to the country." The bishop then subjoins certain 'Proposals' for remedying these evils. For the

ordinances of the gospel were administered publickly to crowded congregations unmolested by the civil power; con siderable thirst for knowledge and zeal for religion pervaded the people, mingled with increasing alienation from the indolent or rapacious ministers of the establishment; and sessions and presbyteries began once more to exercise the discipline of the church upon offenders. The only department of duty which they were as yet doubtful about resuming, was that pertaining to the ordination of ministers. The power of ordination was exclusively vested by law in the legal bishops, who, as might be expected, were especially jealous of any attempt to invade their prerogative. It was accordingly with the utmost circumspection that the brethren ventured, as they soon did, to license or ordain, or to hold meetings for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

In all respects, therefore, the state of the church was most promising. "It is a matter of rejoicing," writes one of the ministers of Ulster in April 1669 to a friend in Scotland, "that the Lord's work seems to be reviving here [in Ireland]. Christ hath a church here that appears with the fairest face, and the cleanest garments; and has proven most faithful with God of any of the three [national churches], and really hath much of the light of his countenance. The sun seems to be fairly risen on this land; whether it may be soon overclouded I cannot say, but presbyterians' liberty is in many places little less than when they had law for them. They are settling their ministers with encouragement, and building public houses of worship for their meetings, and providing vacancies with ministers. About a month ago I had occasion to be at Dublin, where the sacrament of the Lord's supper

repair of the churches, each company were to contribute one with another £40, and a like sum by the bishop and the tenants of each parish; and for the encouragement of trade, it was proposed to settle a bank at Derry with a capital of £3000, or £4000; one half to be advanced by the society, and the other half by persons of quality and estate in the city and county. See Donat. MSS. No. 4763. fol. 508, *et seq.* I am unable to say whether these proposals were ever adopted.

was administrate publickly on the Lord's day, at the ordinary time, and some hundreds standing without, the doors and windows of a throng meeting-house being cast open; a public fast on the Thursday, two sermons on Saturday, and as many on Monday. To all this I was a witness and more than a witness. The harvest is great, the burden-bearers are few, and the few are not idle."(18)

"After a while," continues Adair, "in September 1669, lord Roberts came over lord-lieutenant [in room of the duke of Ormond]. He was represented as a person of great worth for wisdom, learning, strictness in his commands and severity against vice, no enemy to godly people, yet somewhat morose in his temper and carriage. (19) This representation of him he answered in his practice during the short time of his government. He was a public discountenancer of all vice. The public players he stopped there, as well as other vicious persons. He was strict and peremptory upon the officers in the army especially in two things; first, that they were forced to keep close to their quarters and garrisons where their soldiers were; and secondly, that they were put to pay the poor soldiers exactly, whereas before they had used to recede where they pleased, and to spend much of the soldiers' pay upon their own extravagancies. He had his reflections sometimes upon the bishops, and particularly upon him of Dublin, who was also chancellor of Ireland, on account of the unmanageable charge he took upon him.

"As to the non-conformists, though his own practice was always after the episcopal forms of worship, yet he nothing disappointed their good hopes of him. For in his little time

18 Wodrow, ii. 129.

19 This exactly agrees with the character given of him, at the time of his first appointment to the lord-lieutenancy in 1660, by the author of "The Secret History of the Court of Charles II." (Vol. i. 269, 273) a valuable work, which purports to have been written at the period of which it treats, but which was not published till the year 1792. The accuracy of Adair, in these and other matters which did not fall directly within his own knowledge, is very remarkable, and entitles us to place the highest confidence in his Narrative.

those in the north grew yet more confident and encouraged; and those in Dublin rather grew in the begun liberty they had under the earl of Ossory. The chancellor dealt with him to suppress the meeting there; but he told him if they were not papists, and were peaceable and civil, he had no commission to meddle with them. The brethren in the north, beginning to understand these passages, not only went on in their ministry without fear, but begun to think of licensing young men to preach, and recommending them to such congregations where none of their number were. But the lord Roberts' government was soon shortened. He came in September, and returned to England in the April following [1670]. The occasion of this was the temper of the soldiery, and persons of quality in this time could not bear severity against vice. All degrees of that sort of people desired to be rid of the yoke and from under such a severe governor. Many suggestions and complaints were sent over against him. He found he had many enemies in Ireland, and thought in his absence he might be clouded at court. Whereupon he wrote to the king desiring to demit his office, which the king by persuasion of some about him did immediately grant, and chose another, one lord Berkeley, in his room. Those who loved lord Roberts' government blamed him for so suddenly giving it up, seeing there were no just grounds of accusation against his government, but that he could not comply with the debauched temper of the time and place he came to. Many things worthy of a noble judge appeared in him. The king had a good respect for him, as being one in England who, during his majesty's exile, did very largely and yearly send supply to him. However, the short time of his government in Ireland gave a dash to open profaneness, and some encouragement to the lovers of truth.

"There were brethren, and a little after this time divers preachers came from Scotland, who called the people in the country to more public assembling together in the fields, and otherwise than the ministers of the country judged expedient

in that time. (20) The country ministers thought it more conducive to their work to be doing somewhat among the people in a more private way as the times could bear, than expose themselves and the people both to present sufferings and being deprived of their present liberty, through more public appearances. Among other things they resolved to hold a general meeting of the brethren, by means of a few deputed from each meeting or presbytery, to consult as a COMMITTEE for the welfare of the whole, and to recommend to the various meetings such steps as their present exigences demanded. This meeting of committee was in a time when ministers and people wanted not their grounds of fear that new troubles might arise; for the parliament of England had made severe acts against the meetings of non-conformists, (21) and the parliament of Scotland was no better

20 Among these the most forward was the well-known Alexander Paden, who frequently visited Ulster during this period of the church's peace, collecting multitudes and preaching to them in public places; and because the resident ministers of the presbytery would not countenance this indiscreet braving of the law, for which there was not the same necessity as in Scotland,—there being full liberty here, without any bonds or other sinful compliances with government, to preach in the meeting-houses,—he denounced the heaviest judgments upon them as time-servers, and cowardly betrayers of the interests of the truth. These furious and unmerited revilings, as might be expected, alienated from him the ministers in Ulster, who were otherwise disposed to sympathize with him in his privations, and led to an open breach between him and them. His first visit to Ulster appears to have been in this year. See the Biographia Presbyteriana, containing the complete edition of his Life in two volumes. Edin. 1827, vol. i. page 102.

21 These acts were; one in 1664 (16 Car. ii. c. 4) called THE CONVENTICLE ACT, inflicting severe penalties on every person above the age of 16, convicted before a single magistrate of attending any religious meeting not conformable to the established church, at which five or more persons than those belonging to the household should be present. The other in 1665 (17 Car. ii. c. 2) called the FIVE-MILE ACT "the last step in the climax of intolerance," forbidding all non-conforming ministers, refusing to take the oath of passive obedience and non-resistance, to reside within five miles of any city, borough, or corporate town, or any place where they had previously officiated. This infamous statute, as Hallam justly characterises it,

disposed toward them. The lord Berkley, now come from England to be chief governor in Ireland, was a man who had no repute for love to religion nor a good temper, bred a courtier, and little favour expected from him.

"However, the brethren being met [in committee] went about what was incumbent to them, viz. only to relate the mind of their respective meetings as to such questions or cases as were stated before them, or had been given them in commission to answer; and withal to propose overtures to their several meetings to be considered by them, and their answers to be communicated to the rest of their meetings at their first 'sederunt' if necessity required, or at farthest to the next committee, and by the brethren there to their meetings. First, there had been overtures agreed unto by the meetings of Down and Antrim for managing the work of ordination at that time in as prudential a way as the time would permit; these were to be recommended to the consideration of the rest. Secondly, it was found to be the judgment of the presbyteries generally, that the baptism by private deceivers and intruders without ordination, should be declared no baptism, and the children should be baptized by the ministers of the Gospel. Yet withal it was thought fit that before they were baptized, the brethren should have the joint advice of the gravest ministers in Scotland, and for that end letters should be written to some of them to return their own and their brethren's answers; which accordingly was done and their answer returned agreed with the judgment of the brethren in Ireland in that particular. Thirdly, a collection was proposed among the presbyteries and their congregations

passed the Commons without a division, but was opposed, though carried, in the Lords. "To quit the towns," says that eminent writer, "where they had long been connected, and where alone they had friends and disciples, for a residence in country villages, was an exclusion from the ordinary means of subsistence. The church of England had doubtless her provocations, but she made the retaliation much more than commensurate to the injury. No severity comparable to this cold-blooded persecution had been inflicted by the late powers, even in the ferment and fury of a civil war," Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 213.

for supply of the ministers of Scotland banished for their non-compliance with some sinful injunctions of the parliament of Scotland, and who were now sojourners in Holland. This was accordingly performed with great alacrity by the people, and the collection of one hundred and twenty pounds sterling transmitted to them and their thanks returned to the brethren in Ireland. (22) Fourthly, it was then overtured that the synod's act [passed before the Restoration] anent reviewing the [general] presbytery's book should be put in practice; but most of these books were lost through the tossings and distemper of an honest worthy brother, Mr. Thomas Peebles, clerk to the synod. Fifthly, it was overtured that Mr. Greg should endeavour the composing a History of the beginning and progress of the Gospel in these parts, as the synod had appointed him. (23) Sixthly,

22 Among these banished ministers were the Rev. John Brown of Wamphray, Robert Mac Ward and John Carstares both of Glasgow, Robert Trail of Edinburgh, James Simpson of Airth, who had been chaplain to the lord Sinclair's regiment in Newry in 1642, and the venerable John Livingston, formerly of Killinchy, who died at Rotterdam, August 9, 1672. Colonel James Wallace also lived at this period at Rotterdam, and in 1676-78 officiated as elder in the Scots church there. Steven's Hist. p. 42. He doubtless shared in the benevolent contribution from the church in Ulster, of which for several years he had been one of the most zealous elders. He also died at Rotterdam in the end of the year 1678. This generous donation of the Ulster presbyterians to their exiled Scottish brethren, has not been noticed by any previous writer.

23 Mr. Greg, and his neighbour Mr. Stewart of Donaghadee, made some progress in this appointed work; and the "Account" referred to in note 18, vol. i. page 84, was doubtless the result of their joint labours. At the death of Mr. Greg and Mr. Stewart, Mr. Drysdale of Portaferry was next requested to carry on the work; and I find the meeting of Antrim in April 1672 recommending Mr. Hall of Larne, and Mr. Adair of Cairncastle, to "use diligence about the history of the church of Ireland," and to send their collections to Mr. Drysdale, "the writer of that history." MS. Minutes. The task, however, appears to have devolved entirely on Mr. Adair; and though repeated efforts were made by the synod during many years to procure a history of the church under its care, nothing of the kind appeared; and after the lapse of more than a century and a half, the present is the first and only work which has been published on the subject.

a public fast was proposed partly because of the new governor lord Berkley, from whom trouble to the church was feared, and partly for the unseasonableness of the weather. This was accordingly kept the third Tuesday of the month [of May] and with such countenance from God and presence in the congregations of the people, that even those who were but unfriends and coming to observe were convinced. And besides the Lord visibly answered prayer by a remarkable change of the season immediately after; so that the people, where presbyterians were least entertained, and where the people were otherwise principled, as in Lecale [in the county of Down] found the benefit of seasonable rain after a dangerous and scorching drought, which had come upon unseasonable and excessive rains before: so that these people thanked God that, since none would pray, the presbyterians prayed and fasted, and had obtained rain and a good season.

"Immediately after these things, a storm threatened the ministers particularly, which began at the brethren of Down. The occasion whereof was specially the envy that the clergy had conceived at the begun liberty of the ministers, and their public congregations and meetings among themselves. They had risen up from their graves twice: first, being dead by the law as to their ministry, immediately after the bishops appeared in the country. They began a little after to creep out again, which when they were beginning to do shortly after, through occasion of the plot they were put in a worse case than before, being imprisoned, banished and driven into corners. Now they were up again under the bishops' eye exercising their ministry, and the whole country flocking to them and deserting the legal incumbents. The clergy fretted, but yet did not know how to help it. The ministers were not restrained by the magistrate; they were loved and esteemed by the whole country, and had a respect even from sober persons of the bishops' persuasion beyond their own clergy. Though these things a little restrained their violence, yet they increased their envy and indignation.

Besides the people of the country generally neglected and slighted the curates in their burials, baptisms, &c. and when curates would officiously urge their service at burials, they were refused or resisted, which the chancellor himself, who was also archdeacon, had lately met with at a burial; who, when he would have read over the corpse of a person in burying, was resisted by a kinsman of his, a mean countryman, which did animate him and he vowed revenge. Beside, the late fast, and the country's so generally owning that solemnity, and the visible fruit of it, did gall the prelatical clergy. They saw these things weakening their party and strengthening the ministry of these poor men, and engaging the whole country to them; and yet they were ashamed palpably to condemn such things.

"But that which did more immediately occasion this threatened trouble was bishop Robert Leslie of Raphoe. He had by this time kept four worthy brethren nearly six years in prison, as before related. He, coming to these parts of the county of Down about his other occasions, did visit the bishop of Down, one Boyle, (24) and did so stir him against the ministers, and upbraid him for his negligence and want of zeal in not using the key of jurisdiction, that this bishop resolved to play the man in his dioceses, and even to a greater length than Leslie had done in Raphoe diocese. For whereas Leslie had persecuted but four, Boyle presently sent summonses to twelve brethren of Down to appear before his court, which he knew they would not do, and therefore resolved suddenly to go on to excommunication. Their names were Masters John Drysdale, John Greg, Andrew Stewart, Gilbert Ramsay, William Richardson, James Gordon, Henry Livingston, Alexander Hutchin-

[24] Jeremy Taylor died at Lisburn, on the 13th of August, 1667, in the 55th year of his age, and was buried at Dromore. He was succeeded in Down and Connor by Dr. Roger Boyle, who in 1672 was translated to Clogher, where he succeeded Robert Leslie, the hereditray foe of the presbyterians, who had been translated in 1671 from Raphoe to Clogher, where he lived only a year.

son, Hugh Wilson, William Reid, Michael Bruce, who had but newly returned to his parish after great troubles and long imprisonment in Scotland and England, (25) and Mr. Gilbert Kennedy, a Scotch minister, who had settled for a time in a country parish. (26) The first summons none of these ministers received, yet they were upon them called at the next court and noted contumacious. The second summons was sent and left at their houses, and contrary to their usual custom of meeting only monthly, the next court was appointed within a fortnight, that he might sooner win to the sentence of excommunication against them, and thereafter proceed to the ministers of the next county, the other diocese of Connor.

"The brethren of Down, after meeting and consultation in this case, resolved to send one of their number with a supplication to the lord lieutenant, and to make use of what friends in Dublin they could. But they judged it fit in the first place to sound the bishop, if any abatement of such severity might be expected from him; the rather that he had since his coming into the country carried quietly, they

[25] After many escapes in Scotland Mr. Bruce was taken prisoner near Stirling, in June 1668, and in July following was sentenced by the Scottish council to be banished out of the three kingdoms. In September he was sent by sea to London to await his majesty's pleasure, and confined in the Gate-house, Westminster, where he was shortly afterwards condemned to go to Tangier, in Africa. Wodrow, ii. 111. His wife followed him to London; when there she found means to interest some of the courtiers in his favour, and Charles, unwilling formally to reverse the sentence of banishment, was prevailed on to give him the privilege of naming the place of his exile. Mr. Bruce, it is said, immediately chose "Killinchy Woods," a writ of *nolo prosequi* was obtained for him, and in April 1670 he once more settled in his favourite parish of Killinchy.

[26] In 1662 the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, who had been settled as minister of Girvan in Ayrshire, in 1651, was ejected from that parish, and came to Ireland about 1668. He settled in Dundonald after the death of Mr. Peebles, and died in that charge Feb. 6, 1687-8. He was brother to the Rev. Thomas Kennedy of Donoughmore and Carlan in Tyrone; and grandfather to the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, minister successively of Lisburn, Killileagh, and Belfast, who died in 1773.

thought they might inquire the ground of this sudden alteration. Accordingly on the thirtieth of June, Mr. Drysdale and Mr. Hutchinson were sent to the bishop, but with this further instruction, that if they found not good ground of hope from the bishop, Mr. Drysdale should immediately repair from him to Dublin. They came to Hillsborough, where the bishop had his house at that time. They having sent to him, shewing they were waiting to speak with him, he, in a great fury and disdain, returned answer, he would not speak with them but in open court on the morrow. Yet thereafter, upon the archdeacon suggesting to him it would be evil looked on not to hear what the ministers had to say to him, the brethren were again sent for, and being come to him they found nothing but railing language, calling them all rebels from the beginning, and that they had seduced the people. He said, though he had little hope to do good to the seduced people, yet he resolved to execute the law against them. Thus after some discourse by these brethren unto him, defending their carriage with truth and soberness, they left him, and Mr. Drysdale, according to appointment, went forward to Dublin to make application to the lord-lieutenant. But before this, a letter having been written to Sir Arthur Forbes informing him of the case, he went to the lord-lieutenant, and was by him recommended to the primate Margetson to relate the case to him. (27) Sir Arthur knowing the loyalty and sufferings of the ministers of the north from the beginning upon the king's account, and being not only of unquestionable loyalty himself, and a great actor and sufferer for the king before, but also in high favour with his majesty, and a privy counsellor and chief commander in the army, he did prevail with the primate, and the chancellor Boyle, then archbishop of Dublin, that a letter should be

27 Sir Arthur Forbes became the principal patron of the presbyterians after the decease of their great friend, the lord Massareene, who died at Antrim in September, 1665. Frequent references will be subsequently made to this upright and indefatigable statesman, who was afterwards created earl of Granard.

written to the bishop of Down to forbear any further prosecuting that business against these ministers till the tenth of August following; at which time the primate himself would be in the north, being the year of his triennial visitation. This letter being written did force the bishop of Down to desist against his will; for that being the archbishop's year of visitation, inferior bishops were not to meddle with jurisdiction but by his appointment. This letter came before Mr. Drysdale reached Dublin. However, being there he went to the primate and informed him of the case, who only inquired whether the ministers had exercised the power of jurisdiction and ordination, the two things proper to the bishop. Mr. Drysdale told him there had been nothing of that hitherto, as indeed the brethren were but upon a way to it. The bishop said, if he came to the north, he would do as he saw cause. Thus were the brethren and people of their charge left in suspense as to any determination of their cause; their adversaries looking to the bishop and his authority for restraining their liberty, and themselves looking to God for a merciful event.

"Meantime, two worthy brethren were removed out of this life. Mr. John Greg was buried July the twenty-second, and Mr. Richardson, having been at his burial, took immediately a fever and was buried that day week, the twenty-ninth of July. They were two of the ablest and most useful men among the whole number. Mr. James Cunningham of Antrim had died a while before—a prudent, godly man; and Mr. Thomas Crawford a while after him [in December]—an able and sincere minister of Christ. Mr. James Shaw, a zealous worthy preacher, was laid by through sickness and a strange afflicting trouble coming on his family after the death of his wife. (28) Mr. Gilbert Ramsay, too,

(28) As an illustration of the character of those times I subjoin Adair's account of the 'strange afflicting trouble' noticed in the text.—"There had been great ground of jealousy that Mr. Shaw's wife in her childbed had been wronged by sorcery of some witches in the parish. After her death a considerable time some spirit or spirits troubled the house by casting stones

having taken a palsy within a short time thereafter, and the little remainder of his strength and spirits decaying, he died :—he was a true Nathaniel of good abilities, sent over

down at the chimney, appearing to the servants, and especially having got one of them, a young man, to keep appointed times and places wherein it appeared in divers shapes and spake audibly to him. The people of the parish watched the house while Mr. Shaw at this time lay sick in his bed; and indeed did not wholly recover, but within a while died, it was thought, not without the art of sorcery; though otherwise he was not only valetudinary but broken with melancholy:"—causes sufficient, one would think, to account for his death without the 'art of sorcery.' I may add that in September 1672, the young man alluded to by Adair appeared before the presbytery, and the following is the entry of their proceedings in this curious case. "Mr. James Shaw having recommended to this meeting one George Russel, a servant of his, who had conferred with that spirit that troubled Mr. James Shaw's house, that the brethren might speak to the said George: he being called compeared, and confessed his conversing and conferring with that spirit which appeared to him, and his keeping tryst with it, and obeying it by drawing circles and other circumstances at the demand and direction of the said spirit. The brethren finding in this carriage of the boy much ignorance and a bold confidence, and finding the hazard he was in by the said spirit, they laboured to make him sensible of his sinful carriage, warned him of his danger, and recommended him to study knowledge and to pray, and discharged him to converse any such way in time coming with the said spirit under what pretences soever, which he promised; and the brethren did resolve to deal further with him afterwards to bring him to more sense of his sin and danger." This 'confident' lad was very probably an accomplice in the imposition which must have been practised on the family of this worthy but hypochondriac minister. Mr. Shaw died at Carnmoney in December, 1672. The subject of the supposed appearance of spirits, &c. had previously occupied a good deal of the public attention in the neighbourhood of Belfast. In 1662 a noted case of this kind occurred at Drum-bridge, between Belfast and Lisburn, which excited the curiosity of Jeremy Taylor; and the bishop's own herd at Portmore beside Lough-Neagh was also a notable ghost-seer. See More's Glanville's Sadducismus Triumphatus (pp. 382-90), "that strange work," says bishop Heber in his Life of Jeremy Taylor, "which (though its ravenous credulity and ghostly frontispieces may, at present, be thought only proper to alarm a nursery) displays in some of its arguments much of that singular platonic learning by which its author and editor were distinguished, and has, undoubtedly, adduced some evidences of apparitions which it is easier to ridicule than to disprove."

to Bangor by famous Mr. Blair, and deceived not his expectation. And shortly after died also Mr. Thomas Peebles, a man learned and faithful, and eminent in the languages and history. (29)

"These were sad troubles to the poor afflicted ministers, to have some of the choicest of their brethren taken from them by death, and their enemies raging against them. But they were not forsaken by their great Master; he supported their spirits, and followed them with remarkable and seasonable providences. On the day of Mr. Richardson's burial there was a meeting appointed at Mr. Stewart's house [near Donaghadee], who had been also unwell and unable to travel; and there they begun to enter on trial three young men, viz. Mr. John Cunningham, in reference to the parish of Donacloney, Mr. William Legat, and Mr. George Montgomery, in order to license them to preach. They also appointed a private fast, to deal with God for the continuance of their liberty and preventing the fury of the bishops, to be

[29] To Adair's sad list of deaths must be added that of the Rev. Andrew Stewart of Donaghadee, who died on the 2nd of January, 1671, in the 46th year of his age. On his tomb-stone are the following quaintly constructed lines:—

Vita probum, probitasque pium, pietasque beatum,
Laus celebrem, laudi mens dedit esse parem.
Corpus humum, mens Diapolum, fama inclyta mundum,
Morte subit, decorat lumine, laude beat.

The learned reader will be amused with another specimen of this whimsical and involved style, which I extract from that curious volume, well described in the Quarterly Review (x. 113), as "one of the most singular books in this or in any other language. Its puns and its poems, its sermons and its anagrams, render it unique in its kind;"—I mean Mather's New England (book iii. p. 101). The following is Mather's epitaph on Mr. Henry Dunster, for some time president of Harvard college:—

Præco, pater, servus; sonui, fovi, coluique;
Sacra, scholam, Christum; voce, rigore, fide.
Famam, animam, corpus; dispergit, recreat, abdit;
Virtus, Christus, humus; laude, salute, sinu.

held on the sixteenth of August. The Lord was pleased to hear their prayer. For first, the lord-lieutenant had advised the primate to moderation toward ministers; secondly, the primate himself was not of a persecuting temper, but rather inclinable to engage the country and to increase his estate; thirdly, his letter to the bishop of Down was not well enough received by him, the bishop saying that the primate had wronged him in taking upon him to hinder the exercise of his authority in his own diocese, and comparing himself in learning and fitness to govern with the primate. Whereupon a sharp contention fell out between them; but the primate, understanding his own superiority, did the rather own it in this matter, being engaged in it, and alleging the bishop of Down had brought him to needless trouble without his own advice. When the brethren sent to him to know what they might expect as to their process, he returned answer that those gentlemen, for so he called them, needed not fear a surprisal in that matter in haste: and thus the process ended as to the brethren of Down; and the bishop with his clergy there, found that his intentions against the ministers of Antrim were prevented.

"This mercy came seasonably to this poor church in divers respects. It proved a continuation of the ministers' liberty and a confirmation of it; a dash too to those of the prelates who were more violent, and that by their own primate of Ireland. It was some evidence and fruit of the king's clemency and favour to the presbyterian ministers of the north of Ireland; and also an evidence of the moderation of the lord-lieutenant Berkley, and that he was no enemy to these ministers. And further it fell in mercifully, being after and about the time of the deaths of divers useful and worthy brethren, which otherwise in itself was a bad presage to this church. Yet the gracious God made up that loss divers ways; partly by providing young men whom, by degrees, the brethren ordained and planted in congregations, and partly by sending divers able and worthy ministers from

Scotland who settled in this church for a time. (30) And all this was the more remarkable that it was in the time when non-conformity both in England and Scotland was much discountenanced, not only by severe acts of parliament whereby in England five persons might not meet together for worship otherwise than the law prescribed; and in Scotland not so much as family worship must be performed, if there were but one person more than the family itself present. And both in England and Scotland meetings of non-conformists, called conventicles, were most strictly pursued and

(30) Out of a number of ministers in Galloway expatriated by the Scottish council (Wodrow, i. 362), no less than six settled about this time in the presbytery of Down; and obtained a favourable asylum here, viz. the Rev. Archibald Hamilton of Wigton, succeeded Mr. Ramsay at Bangor; the Rev. Thomas Kennedy of Leswalt near Stranraer, succeeded Mr. Greg at Newton-ards; the Rev. Patrick Peacock of Kirkmabreck, not far from Wigton, succeeded Mr. Richardson at Killileagh; and the Rev. George Waugh of Kirkinner, the Rev. Alexander Ferguson of Sorbie, both of the presbytery of Wigton, and the Rev. John M^cBroom of Portpatrick, were also settled in Down in 1679, and for some years previously. I have not been able to ascertain in what congregations these three ministers were respectively settled; but they must have been Donaghadee, Portaferry, and Clough, as all the other principal congregations had ministers at this period. Several other eminent Scottish ministers removed to Ulster about this time. In 1672 the Rev. Robert Rule (brother to the celebrated Dr. Gilbert Rule), who had been ejected from Stirling in 1662, became minister of the presbyterian church in Derry, where he officiated till the year 1688, when he returned to Scotland. In 1670 the Rev. Thomas Wylie, who had been ejected from Kirkcudbright, came over to Coleraine, where several of his relatives appear to have resided. He officiated as minister of that congregation for nearly three years, when he also returned to Scotland, and settled at Fenwick, under the act of indulgence, where he died July 20, 1676. On his leaving Coleraine in the end of June 1673, the congregation entrusted him with a blank call to present, in their name, to any suitable minister he could procure for them. A copy of this call is in my possession. Among the subscribers are three persons of the name of Wylie, three of the name of Galt, with the names of about thirty others. The Rev. Wm. Weir, who had been ejected from Linlithgow, accepted this call and officiated at Coleraine from 1674 to 1687, when he again settled in his former charge in Scotland, where he died in July 1695.

suppressed. Many, both ministers and godly people, were put to great sufferings both then and divers years after, only because they could not comply with the prelates, their curates, or their courses, but would worship God with their own ministers, or with other godly ministers of their own sentiments. And though they did all in a private way and shunned as much as possible to give offence to the magistrate; yet their privacy did not save them from violence, especially in Scotland, where the great work which engaged the king's council there and the forces they had in the country for many years was, to find out these meetings, to apprehend the ministers, and other persons, and then to pass sentence of banishment, fining and imprisonment upon them; whereupon many sad consequences followed which it is not pertinent here to relate, only to observe God's dealing with his poor church in the north of Ireland, the most unlikely to obtain any favour of this kind. They were not only opposite in their principles and practices to the prelatic way, as others of their persuasion in the other two kingdoms; but they were in a manner strangers in another country, being of the Scotch extraction, and on both these accounts being hated and despised by those of the English who were prelatical. They generally were of an humble extraction and sort of people, yet Providence ordered their liberty and quiet when others, more deserving and who had greater ground of expectation, were deprived of it. Thus the ministers with the people, having by the wonderful providence of God an open door given them, continued in the exercise of their ministry; and their assemblies daily grew so that within a while every congregation erected a house for their meeting together, and began to celebrate the sacrament in their public assemblies.

"Meantime there fell out a passage in Dublin at Christmas in this year, which, though not properly belonging to the history of the north of Ireland, yet it relating to presbyterians, is not unworthy to be recorded. There had been a while before builded at Dublin a large stately house with three stories of galleries for acting the stage-plays, at the cost

and free-will offering of noblemen and other persons of quality, unto which the bishops contributed largely, though at the time they refused to give countenance or assistance for building a church at Dame's-street, where there was great need through the multiplying of inhabitants in that city, much above what could be contained in the churches formerly built, especially in that place of the city. To this house came a great number of noblemen and ladies, beside other persons and clergymen, on the first day of Christmas being Monday [the twenty-sixth of December]. The play acted was one called by them 'The Non-conformist.' And there among other parts of the play the poor shadow of a non-conformist minister is mocked and upbraided, and at last is brought to the stocks, prepared for this purpose, that his legs may be fastened. Those of the greatest quality sat lowest, those next in quality sat the next above, and the common people in the upmost gallery. But behold, when this shadow is brought to the stocks, as an affront upon presbyterian ministers and to teach great persons to deal with like severity towards them, down came the upper gallery on the middle one where gentlemen and others sat, and that gallery broke too and much of it fell down on the lords and ladies. Divers were killed and many hurt. (31) Among those that were hurt was one of the lord-lieutenant's sons, and the lady Clanbrassil who, the year before, had caused to be pulled down the preaching house at Bangor. Such providences so circumstantial in divers respects will not pass without observation of impartial and prudent persons, for surely they have a language if men would hear." (32)

31 This theatre was in Smock-alley and was built in 1662. Walsh and Whitelaw's Dublin, ii. 1109.

32 With this anecdote, Adair's MS., of which I have latterly made so much use, unfortunately terminates. Of this MS. and its author I have already given a brief account in the Note at pages 205, 6 of the first volume of this History. I may here add that, for a length of time, it was believed no copy of this valuable manuscript existed; and during the year 1764 the following advertisement was inserted for a considerable period in the Belfast Newsletter:—"Whereas a Manuscript of Mr. Patrick Adair,

Lord Berkley, the lord-lieutenant, having occasion to visit England, the lord-chancellor and Sir Arthur Forbes were appointed lords justices and sworn into office on the twelfth of June, 1671. Sir Arthur, the steady and indefatigable friend of the presbyterians, embraced this opportunity of obtaining an order for the liberation of those who had been imprisoned on account of their non-conformity. Among the persons released pursuant to this order, was one John Goodall, a native of Scotland and by trade a wheelwright, who with his wife had settled in the city of Armagh a short time prior to the Restoration. After that event he was for a while unmolested, though he continued to bear a faithful testimony against prelacy, and refused to conform even in the slightest particular that might imply an approbation of the established worship. At length the ire of the clergy being specially excited by the heinous misdemeanour of working on Christmas day, a warrant was hastily procured from Dublin, and he was committed to prison in the beginning of the year 1668. He was confined, though with no great rigour, for more than three years, till released by the interference of Sir Arthur Forbes. A few years afterwards he returned with his family to his native kingdom, where he lived till after the Revolution. His wife survived him, and, dying at Leith, left a memoir of her life, including an account of their residence at Armagh, which

formerly dissenting minister in Belfast, which Manuscript was for some time in the possession of Mr. Thomas Brown of Glenarm and afterwards of Mr. Clotworthy Brown, his brother, giving some historical account of the first settlement of Presbyterian Congregations and Ministers in the north of Ireland, cannot now be found. Notice is hereby given that whoever will give any information of the said Manuscript to Messrs. John Hay and James Magee, booksellers in Belfast, so as it may be found, shall be liberally rewarded." At length about the year 1810, the late Dr. S. M. Stephenson of Belfast, as he informed me in 1823, discovered the present copy among the papers of the late W. Trail Kennedy, esq. of Annadale near Belfast, who gave it to the doctor, and by him it was presented to the public Presbyterial Library, which is at present claimed and held by the Antrim Presbytery as their exclusive property. The reader of these volumes has perused all the important portions of this unpublished and, hitherto, almost unknown manuscript.

has been fortunately preserved, (33) and which presents a graphic sketch of the annoyances and privations to which even the humblest presbyterians were at this time subjected.

The church was exposed about this period to a new source of trouble and disquiet. In consequence of the judicious proceedings of the presbytery at Bangor in the year 1653, undisturbed harmony had hitherto existed among the members of the presbytery. 'There were no divisions among them, but were all perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.' Mutual respect and submission were inviolably maintained; and all cordially united in promoting the peace and prosperity of their Zion. An indiscreet and turbulent licentiate, however, began to distract the church with his irregular proceedings; in which he persisted, in opposition to the advice of the presbytery and the established rules of ecclesiastical order. The name of this person was David Houston. He had for a time supplied the congregation of Glenarm, which had been destitute of a minister from the period of Mr. Fleming's conformity to the established church; and he had afterwards supplied Ballymoney, vacant since the death of Mr. Ker. While officiating in this latter congregation he appears to have first become acquainted with Mr. Alexander Peden, and to have imbibed from this pious and faithful, though enthusiastic minister, that impatience of ecclesiastical restraint, and that love of ministering to popular excitement by collecting large crowds of people, at unusual times and places, in opposition to their settled ministers, which soon exposed him to the serious animadversions of his brethren. The presbyteries both of Antrim (34) and of Route faithfully remonstrated with him on the

33 I have inserted in the Appendix, No. XVI. a copy of that portion of Mrs. Goodall's interesting memoir which relates to Ireland, taken from the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

34 The minutes of the presbytery of Antrim, extending from July 1671 to November 1691, have been fortunately preserved; with the exception of an interval of eight years from July 1675 to February 1683, the minutes of which have been lost out of the volume. In 1671 this presbytery com-

mischiefs which must arise from his factious proceedings; and at length on the twenty-third of August, 1671, he appeared before the latter presbytery at Macosquin, owned his irregularities, and engaged to read a public acknowledgement of them for the satisfaction of the people who had taken offence at his conduct. (35) But a peaceful course of ministerial duty in submission to his brethren had few attractions for him. He once more transgressed the settled order of the church in violation of his former engagements, and within

prised twenty congregations, of which six were vacant. I have never been able to ascertain whether any portion of the records of the presbyteries of Tyrone or Route, prior to the Revolution, has been preserved.

[35] Among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library (M. 6, 14), I discovered several papers relative to Houston, which had been extracted from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Route by the clerk, the Rev. Thos. Boyd of Aghadoey, and by him transmitted to Wodrow. The following is a copy of Mr. Houston's acknowledgment before the presbytery alluded to in the text. "At Macosquin, August 23d, 1671. The which day Mr. David Houston compeared before the Meeting, and being interrogated whether or not he was sensible of his irregular carriage in counteracting the Meeting's advice, and preaching in way of opposition by fixing tent against tent to the bringing a reproach against our way and opening the mouths of the wicked. To which he answered that he judged his carriage withal truly scandalous, and it had cost him many sad nights and rendered him *salem insipidum*, and declares that he will give it under his hand that, through the Lord's strength, he will never act contrary to the presbyterial meeting's advice where his lot shall be. *Sic subscribitur coram conventum*, David Houston. The which day Mr. Houston likewise undertook to read publicly, on purpose for the satisfaction of the people; a true copy whereof follows, viz.— 'I, Mr. David Houston, after the serious consideration of my way in this place and the offence it hath given unto the officers of Christ's house, do now declare that I am really sorry and grieved in my heart for my scandalous opposition to the presbyterian way, in fixing tent against tent, or in being any way accessory either to the begetting or fomenting division among the godly in this place, to the giving occasion to the wicked to blaspheme: And I do declare that my resolution and purpose for the future is, to walk more regularly and to move in my public vocation only according to the advice of the reverend ministers of the presbytery in the place where my lot shall be. Also I earnestly entreat all of you that have been engaged in any contest upon my account, to lay aside all animosities and unanimously follow the advice and counsel of the reverend presbytery in order to the establishing of the gospel amongst you, as the most probable ways of healing the breach.'"

a few months the presbytery of Route were again compelled to interfere. In January 1672, they advised him to remove for a time out of their bounds, that the divisions which he had fomented in several of their congregations might be the more readily allayed; but having disdainfully rejected their friendly advice and persevered in his former schismatical courses, at their monthly meeting at Macosquin on the twenty-seventh of February they withdrew his licence to preach, and appointed the Rev. Thomas Wylie, the exiled minister of Kircudbright who was supplying the congregation of Coleraine, to intimate his suspension in the congregation of Ballymoney. (36) The general committee approved of the con-

[36] From the MS. referred to in the preceding Note, I am able to give the following minute of the presbytery's suspension of him which details his disorderly conduct. "At Macosquin Feb. 27, 1671-2. The which day the Meeting of the Route taking to their consideration the insolent and contemptuous carriage of Mr. David Houston at and since their last meeting at Macosquin the ninth day of January; First, in his boisterous and stormy way of taking their advice off their hand, for removing out of the bounds of the meeting in order to the healing of the scandalous rent in the parish of Ballymoney, and to the timeous obstructing of the like rents beginning to appear in other congregations through his disorderly preaching without the meeting's allowance: And having in passion removed and his disdainful refusing to return to hear what the brethren had further to say to him, (though they sent one of their number to desire him to return for that effect,) and also considering that instead of a quiet, sober and peaceable acquiescing to the brethren's advice as became a probationer (who ought by the law of God and of his church to be subject in the like cases unto the church-meetings under whose inspection they are,) the said Mr. David did, the first Sabbath-day immediately thereafter, in contempt of the foresaid advice preach publickly at Ballymoney, and since, either at Ballymoney or Derrikeichan, or the border betwixt the two; and not only but likewise in the week-days unwarrantably and officiously hath thrust himself in upon another man's labours, setting up a lecture or preaching diet to himself at several times in the parish of Macosquin, hereby endeavouring to rend the parish asunder, and so to mar the work of the Lord in the place, and to obstruct the settlement of the gospel there by the faithful man who labours amongst them: Which presumptuous practice of the said Mr. David Houston (a young man not ordained to the ministry nor yet having passed trials in order to his ordination to any particular place within the bounds of the kingdom) do clearly evidence to all unbiassed and impartial men that he is

duct of the presbytery, and directed further proceedings to be instituted against him, arising out of several alleged immoralities in his conduct while supplying Glenarm. But Houston, alarmed at these indications of the presbytery's firmness and decision, once more resorted to the expedient of owning his mis-conduct and deprecating their severity. The presbytery, being unable at this period to enter upon a public trial, or to cite witnesses without exposing the church to imminent danger, were disposed to receive his confession the more willingly. He was obliged, however, to appear several times before the presbyteries of Route and Antrim; till at length after a suspension of a year and a half he was restored to the office of a licentiate in July 1673; and having subsequently received a testimonial he appears to have retired to Scotland, and not to have returned to Ulster for several years. This self-willed and unstable preacher, by his irregular proceedings laid the foundation of that schism in the presbyterian church in Ulster which still subsists; and he is claimed as one of the earliest witnesses to the peculiar opinions of the covenanting or reformed presbyterian church that appeared in the north of Ireland. (37)

Warned by the embarrassments arising out of this case,

a man of a vain and turbulent spirit, ambitiously affecting (for his own carnal ends it would appear) the work of the ministry, and rushing himself thereinto in a disorderly way, not only without but contrary to the mind of the brethren, and the known and approven order settled among them; and even contrary to his own engagements under his own hand: WHEREFORE the meeting have unanimously suspended the said Mr. David Houston from all preaching and lecturing upon the word publickly or privately as a probationer: As also the meeting does hereby advise and exhort all the Lord's people within thebounds, and especially those of Ballymoney, Derrikeichan, and Macosquin, no longer to hear the said Mr. David as a licensed probationer, nor to look upon him as standing in any other capacity as to preaching or lecturing but only in that of a private unlicensed man; with certification that if they continue henceforth to keep up that sad and scandalous breach by adhering to and hearing of him, they will thereby deprive themselves of the benefit of the sealing ordinances and of marriage. And these premises were appointed to be read publickly that none concerned pretend ignorance."

[37] Sketches of Ecc. Hist. Belfast, 1813, p. 89. The Covenanter, ii. 413.

the presbytery resolved to exercise increased caution in admitting persons to the ministry. For a considerable time after the Restoration there were few candidates for this perilous office; and after the church began to enjoy a little repose, the principal accessions to the ministry consisted of ordained ministers from Scotland. In a short time, however, many young men who had received their collegiate education in that kingdom but who could find no opportunity there of being admitted to preach, came over to Ulster, and were placed on trials by the several presbyteries. With regard to these inexperienced candidates, of whose previous character and conduct so little could be known, the utmost circumspection was necessary on the part of the church-courts, lest any of them should afterwards prove unsound or unqualified; and lest some of these applicants might be secret emissaries of the prelatical party, and betray the fact of the presbytery exercising the power of ordination. Great caution was also required in ascertaining the minds of the vacant congregations, and in effecting the settlement of a minister in each, lest the legal incumbent should be needlessly provoked, or additional restraints be laid upon the exercise of discipline. The general committee, which met at Benburb in February 1672, drew up a series of regulations for conducting the trial, ordination, and settlement of ministers adapted to the peculiar situation of the church; which, being transmitted to the several presbyteries and revised by them, were ultimately adopted by the committee in October following, as a temporary measure until the church should be restored to greater freedom. (38)

38 As these rules throw much light on the difficulties with which the presbyteries had to contend in maintaining a standing ministry in the province, and on their anxiety to obtain sound and efficient pastors for their people, I have inserted a copy of them in the Appendix, No. XVII. A portion of these rules I formerly published in a note to the sermon which, as moderator, I preached at the opening of the General Synod of Ulster, at its annual meeting in the year 1828; (Belfast, 1828, 8vo. pp. 54.) but they are worthy of being preserved in a complete form, in connexion with this History of the Church, to whose purity and efficiency they contributed so much.

While engaged in maturing these 'Rules for ordination,' an addition was made to the maintenance of ministers by the pension granted at this time by Charles II. Of this remarkable transaction—differing so much from the persecuting measures of his reign against presbyterians, and constituting a precedent for that deviation from the ordinary maxims of state policy still existing in the case of the Irish presbyterians—the following is the only account that has been preserved. (39) "'Tis just the world should know the first motion that was made for that pension, and the consideration upon which 'twas granted and has been now continued these forty years past without interruption, except during the reign of king James II. and a very few years in the latter end of the reign of king Charles II. when the ruin, not only of presbyterians but of all sober church-men and of the protestant religion itself, was upon the anvil. The account I am to give of this matter was drawn up by the late Reverend Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, presbyterian minister at Tannagh-nive [Saintfield] in the county of Down. (40) He and three ministers more, viz. Mr. Patrick Adair, Mr. William Semple, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton, did all concur in the same account to the rest of their brethren, affirming that they had it from Sir Arthur Forbes's own mouth. And they were all men of so much candour and veracity as no man of any good character, of whatsoever persuasion, would have called in question the truth of what any of them said, and far less of a fact they all agreed in. The account itself I shall give in Mr. Hutcheson's own words, as he has left them under his hand, which is as follows.

"The truly honourable Sir Arthur Forbes, the steadfast and real friend of the ministers and people in that part of the country, wrote for four ministers to come to him to Dublin, that he might communicate to them a matter wherein they were highly concerned. The ministers were Mr. Patrick

[39] This account is in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' pages 383—85, and was first published in the year 1713.

[40] Mr. Hutchinson died at Saintfield, Nov. 11th, 1711.

Adair, Mr. William Semple, Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton, who all went to Dublin about the middle of October, 1672. The matter was, as he related it himself, as followeth:—He being a little time before in London, and being in conference with the king, who had a great kindness for him (and deservedly), the king, amongst other things relating to this kingdom, inquired at him concerning the presbyterian ministers and people in the north; how the ministers lived, and that he had always been informed that they were loyal and had been sufferers on that account, and were peaceable in their way and carriage, notwithstanding of the hardships they were under.

"Sir Arthur replied 'twas a true account his majesty had heard of them; and as to their present condition, they lived in no great plenty, though they had the affection of the people where they did reside, but that they were not in a capacity to afford them a comfortable subsistence, being under many heavy burdens. The king of his own meer notion told Sir Arthur that there was twelve hundred pounds a year in the settlement of the revenue of Ireland which he had not yet disposed of, but designed it for a charitable use, and he knew not how to dispose of it better than by giving it to these ministers; and told him he would forthwith give order, and desired Sir Arthur to bring the secretary to him to-morrow that the order might be passed under the king's privy seal, and the money to be paid to Sir Arthur quarterly for secret service, as the order run; but when the secretary came to the king it was found there was only six hundred pounds to be disposed of, which he ordered to be paid as is formerly related. Sir Arthur sent for the four ministers partly to give account of the king's business to them, partly that they might consider how to divide it; which they considering apart agreed on this method—that each minister which was in the country in the year 1660 should have an equal proportion, and that the widows and orphans of those who were removed by death might share of the king's bounty; and when they told this to Sir Arthur, he was much pleased with what they

had done, and ordered the present payment for the first quarter. (41) He also told the ministers that it was very becoming them to signify, by a letter of thanks to the king, the sense they had of his majesty's singular favour; and another letter to duke Lauderdale, and a third to Sir Robert Murray, who were ready to do what service they could for their country-men here, and had spoke in their favour; all which letters were drawn and communicated to Sir Arthur and by him sent over to London; which were graciously accepted, as both duke Lauderdale and Sir Robert Murray signified by their letters to Sir Arthur, which they desired him to communicate to the ministers; which he did as opportunity offered."

41 I have very carefully investigated the fiscal history of this grant; and with the aid of documents in the chief secretary's office, Dublin castle, I have ascertained the following particulars respecting it. It first appears on "The Establishment or List, containing all the payments to be made for civil affairs, to begin from the 25th of March, 1672;" in which it is thus entered among the "Pensions and Annuities,"—"Sir Arthur Forbesse, our marshall of Ireland, for secret services without account, £600." When this establishment was renewed in 1676, the same entry appears thus:—"Lord Viscount Granard, Marshall of Ireland, for secret services without account, £600." This warrant was in force till 1682, when a new establishment was issued in which this item was omitted, as it is also in that for 1684, the last civil list on record till after the Revolution. This grant, which was strictly a pension not an endowment, continued therefore in force from 1672 to 1682. But it does not thence follow that it was regularly paid during these ten years; for the warrants provide that the deficiencies in the revenue, which were always very great, should fall upon the pension-list; and Mr. Hardinge, the intelligent and obliging keeper of the records deposited in the custom-house, Dublin, informs me that, among the public accounts, he can find only one entry of such a payment having been made; to wit, in the civil list establishment for 1676. This result corroborates a tradition I have heard that this *Regium Donum* was enjoyed by the ministers for only one year: yet it is spoken of in 'Presbyterian Loyalty' (see p. 416, *antea*.) as if it had been paid 'without interruption except during the reign of King James II. and in a very few years in the latter end of the reign of King Charles II;'—i. e. from 1682, when it was first omitted in the civil list, until the king's death in Feb. 1685. I may add that I have searched in vain for any notice of this grant in the minutes of presbytery for that period which are extant.

For several years after this period few events occurred of special interest or importance to the church. The presbyteries proceeded steadily though cautiously in planting ministers, not only throughout the north, but in several places in the south and west of the kingdom. (42) They laboured assiduously in instructing their people, warning them against prevalent errors and vices, maintaining strict discipline, and exercising a faithful superintendence over the affairs of congregations and the conduct of each other. They encouraged the erection of a school for philosophy, and subsequently of one for theology at Antrim, over which presided the celebrated John Howe, then domestic chaplain to the Massareene family, and the Rev. Thomas Gowan, the presbyterian minister of the parish, a man of distinguished learning and elevated piety. (43) The ministers were still subjected to frequent an-

42 Thus I find the several presbyteries sending supplies to Sligo, Roscommon, and Longford; and to Wicklow, Wexford, Ross, Clonmell, Tipperary, and Waterford. The minutes of the presbytery of Lagan are extant from August 1672 to July 1681, when they are abruptly closed, the clerk and three other members having been seized and cast into prison, and the regular meetings of presbytery suspended for several years, as related in page 424, *postea*. This presbytery had under its care above twenty congregations. So early as November 1673 I find them, by appointment of the general committee ordaining the Rev. William Cock or Cox to the charge of Clonmell, and the Rev. William Liston to that of Waterford, whence he afterwards removed to Letterkenny in Donegal.

43 The Rev. John Howe came to Antrim in May 1671 where he resided constantly till his return to England in 1676. His name occurs frequently in the minutes of the Antrim presbytery, as cordially concurring with the ministers in various duties. The Rev. Thomas Gowan was born at Caldermuir in Scotland in 1631; he settled at Glasslough near Monaghan about 1658, whence he removed to Connor about 1667. He supplied this congregation and taught the languages and philosophy till 1672, when he was installed in the charge of Antrim, where he was so highly esteemed that he was invited and permitted for a time to conduct the public worship of his congregation in the parish church. He taught philosophy at Antrim privately until 1674, when his seminary was taken under the care of the church, and a divinity school under Mr. Howe and himself was added to it in the following year. He died in August 1683, having published in Latin two valuable works on logic; the one entitled "Ars Sciendi, sive Logica novo methodo

noyances and persecutions from the prelatical party. Their marriages, though solemnized publickly after proclamation in their places of worship, and in most cases after proclamation in the parish churches, were often subjects of prosecution and of censure in the ecclesiastical courts. Multitudes of the laity were occasionally summoned before the bishop's court for refusing to attend on the established worship, or to execute the office of church-warden, or for some similar misdemeanour, and many were excommunicated or subjected to heavy fines.(44) Spies were employed by government among the ministers, to betray their proceedings, and give notice of any communications which they might maintain with their brethren in Scotland. So loyal and discreet, however, was

disposita et novis præceptis aucta." London, 1682. 18mo. pp. 460.—the other, "Logicæ Elenctica, sive summa controversiarum quæ circa materiam et præcepta Logica agitari solent, &c. Authore Thoma Goveano, M.A." 1683. 18mo. pp. 505. To the latter work is added a small tract entitled "Elementa Logicæ paucis aphorismis comprehensa," pp. 12. In these volumes is contained almost all that is valuable in the ancient logic, and are now exceedingly rare.

44 Thus in August 1675 a letter from John Orr of Letterkenny was submitted to the presbytery of Lagan, who thereon resolved to write to lord Massareene "that he may interpose his moyen with the prelate of Raphoe to make him surceasc his further persecution of the said John Orr." This prelate was Ezekiel Hopkins, who had been formerly a non-conformist minister in England and ejected in 1662; (see Calamy's Cont. ii. 473.) but who subsequently conformed and was rewarded with the bishoprick of Raphoe, which he held from 1671 to 1681, when he was translated to Derry. Again, in March, 1676 the Rev. Thomas Fulton, correspondent from Route to the presbytery of Lagan, asked their advice "what they may and should do in order to the remedying of the oppressions and grievances of many people of the congregations of their bounds by the prelational party; eight score summoned in some single parishes to the official courts, and many other particulars of prelational persecutions are mentioned, as the summoning of many, and the excommunication of many, and the taking of some with writs, and the people's being exhausted with paying of sums of money, &c. This meeting [of Lagan] advise them to consult our friends in Dublin how they shall proceed in seeking a remedy for these grievances; and not to appear before the prelatical courts, and not to give any money to the prelatical party to buy their peace." MS. Min. of Lagan.

their conduct that, for several years, they were not exposed to any molestation.

The first incident which revived the jealousy of the state resulted out of that ill-conducted enterprize of the oppressed presbyterians in Scotland, which terminated in the decisive battle of Bothwell-bridge on the twenty-second of June, 1679. The news of this insurrection alarmed Ormond, who had been once more appointed to the office of lord lieutenant. He immediately ordered a frigate to cruise in the Irish channel to cut off all communication with Scotland; and at the same time despatched a considerable reinforcement to augment the garrison at Carrickfergus. He directed the earl of Mount-Alexander to station his troop of horse at Larne and the other creeks on the eastern coast of Antrim, and sent orders to lord Conway and Sir George Rawdon to employ their companies in apprehending all persons coming from Scotland at this crisis. (45) Exaggerated reports that the presbyterians of Ulster were ready to join in a similar insurrection were studiously conveyed to the lord lieutenant; who, it was alleged, was preparing once more to apprehend and imprison their ministers. Under these circumstances the several presbyteries thought it their duty to endeavour to remove these unfounded suspicions, and avert the danger threatened to themselves and to their church by a renewed declaration of their loyalty and peaceableness. The presbytery of Down accordingly drew up an address to Ormond, vindicating themselves from the aspersions of their enemies and declaring their continued obedience to the law. The brethren of Antrim adopted a similar address, which was presented to the lord lieutenant by the Rev. Thomas Gowan of Antrim and the Rev. Robert Paton of Ballyclare; and the same course was followed by the other presbyteries. It was further proposed, in a letter to their steadfast friend Sir Arthur Forbes, now lord viscount and afterwards earl of Granard, to unite in a joint address from all the presbyteries to the king;

45 Rawd. Pap. p. 262, 3.

but it is uncertain whether this proposal was carried into effect. (46) These representations, however, succeeded in allaying the apprehensions of Ormond; and the ministers continued to enjoy their former freedom and security, till about a year and a half afterwards an occasion was eagerly seized by their enemies to expose them to renewed severities.

The presbytery of Lagan, in the beginning of the year 1681, had resolved to hold a fast in all their congregations, and in accordance with their usual practice on such occasions, they drew up a paper, containing the causes of the proposed fast, which was publickly read on the previous Sabbath in their respective places of worship. Shortly after the magistrates in that district, being intolerant prelatists, pressed the oath of supremacy with unusual eagerness on the officers and soldiers in the Lagan. Numbers of these, being presbyterians, refused to take this ensnaring oath except with certain explanations, which were not admitted; and in this refusal it was believed they were encouraged by the presbytery. A copy of the causes of the late fast having, about the same time, fallen into the hands of these zealous magistrates, they summoned four of the neighbouring ministers, to wit, the Rev. William Trail of Lifford, the Rev. James Alexander of Raphoe, the Rev. Robert Campbell of Ray, and the Rev. John Hart of Taughboyne, (47) to appear before them at

46 I have inserted in the Appendix, No. XVIII. copies of the address of the presbytery of Down to Ormond taken from the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and of the letter from Lagan to lord Granard extracted from the MS. Minutes of that presbytery. Alexander Peden was again in Ulster at this period, and his admiring and credulous biographer relates, that when he heard of the two ministers from Antrim going to Dublin with their address to Ormond, "Mr. Peden said, Mr. Gowans and his brother Paton are sent and gone the devil's errand, but God shall arrest them by the gate: accordingly Mr. Gowans by the way was struck by a sore sickness, and Mr. Paton fell from his horse and broke or crusht his leg; and both of them were detained beyond expectation." Biog. Pres. i. 53.

47 Mr. TRAIL was, I believe, brother to the Rev. Robert Trail of London. He came over to Ulster a licentiate in 1671 and was ordained the following year in Lifford. After his release from prison he returned to Scotland and

Raphoe on Tuesday the third of May. The magistrates present were Sir William Stewart of Ramelton, Bart, (48) Gray Bingley, Esquire, the high sheriff, captain Nesbitt, Hugh Hamill, of Lifford, John Forward, (49) and Michael Sampson, Esquires. They examined the ministers relative to their observance of the recent fast, and the statement of its causes which was then in their possession. The brethren at

died minister of Borthwick. Mr. ALEXANDER was ordained to the charge of Raphoe, December 12th 1677. Mr. CAMPBELL was ordained in Ray or Raymoghy in 1671; and Mr. HART in Taughboyne in 1656. In October 1655, a commissioner from that parish attended the synod of Glasgow and Ayr with a call to Mr. Hart, who was then minister at Hamilton. Min. of Synod. Wod. MSS. Bib. Jur. Edin. fol. xxxviii.

[48] This Sir William Stewart was the only son of Sir Alexander Stewart who was slain at the battle of Dunbar in 1650. See chap. xiv. Note (13) *antea*. He had now renounced the religious principles of his family, and become the persecutor of those whom both his father and grand-father had so uniformly favoured. In the following year, he was rewarded for his severities against the presbyterians by his elevation to the peerage, with the title of baron Stewart of Ramelton and viscount Mountjoy.

[49] The Forward family settled at Newton-Cunningham about the year 1636. Lords' Journ, i. 268. Mr. Forward mentioned in the text was maternal ancestor to the present earl of Wicklow, his grand-daughter and sole heir, Alice, having in 1755 married the first earl. In 1686 he was high sheriff for Donegal, and was reported to the council in England, then anxious to discountenance every one opposed to the Roman catholics, as "a zealous protestant and famous priest-catcher." But to this report, intended to injure him, lord Clarendon, the lord-lieutenant, appended the following explanation:—"This gentleman is a very good protestant of the church of England and very loyal, but never was a priest-catcher; and the occasion which draws this reflection upon him is, because at a quarter-sessions held at Raphoe the 24th day of April, 1684, he, with other justices of peace then upon the bench, was active in putting in execution that statute made in this kingdom, the second of queen Elizabeth, for the uniformity of the Common-prayer, which the said justices intended principally against the non-conformist protestants who swarm much more in that county than the Roman catholics." Clarendon's Correspondence, i. 286. From this curious list of the Irish sheriffs for 1686, I may extract the following notice of the gentleman appointed for Antrim, who was great-grand-uncle to the present earl of Ranfurly, and an eminent merchant in Belfast till the year 1697, when he retired from business to his estate at Dungannon, then recently

once acknowledged that they had kept the fast, and that they concurred in the paper of causes or reasons for it which was produced by the bench. On this open and candid avowal they were discharged; but within a few weeks they were summoned to appear in Dublin. On two separate occasions they were closely examined, in the presence of the lord lieutenant and the privy council, respecting their proceedings in relation to the fast, and on some other subjects connected with their conduct as non-conforming ministers. They were in a short time dismissed on bail to appear before the summer assizes at Lifford; when being indicted for holding the fast in question, they were found guilty by a packed jury of high church-men, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty-pounds each, to subscribe an engagement not to offend in a similar manner again, and to be imprisoned till they should comply. They continued in prison rather than enter into the sinful engagement demanded. They were confined in Lifford, though not very rigorously, for above eight months; when they were released by the sheriff, and their fines afterwards remitted by the court of exchequer on payment of their fees. (50)

The condemnation of these ministers was a signal for the violent prelatists throughout Ulster to renew their persecuting measures against the non-conformists. The presbyte-

purchased from the earl of Donegal. Pres. Loy. 422. Lodge, vii. 198. "ANTRIM, Thomas Knox, a presbyterian Scotch Whig. *Answer.* This character must be given out of prejudice and particular pique, for there is not the least shadow of truth in it; this person being notoriously known to be a constant frequenter of the church, and never resorted to any conventicle since he lived at Belfast, where he is the most considerable merchant." Clar. Corresp. *ut supra.*

[50] This account is taken from a long and interesting paper which I found in that invaluable repository of authentic documents—the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It is drawn up by Mr. Trail, who details at considerable length his examinations before the privy-council, and other circumstances connected with their imprisonment. I have inserted it in the Appendix, No. XIX. The reader may see this affair referred to in Wodrow, iii. 262. and as usual, a very distorted account of it in Carte, ii. 508.

rian meeting-houses were closed, and the public exercise of their worship was interdicted. The penalties of recusancy were, in many districts, inflicted by an intolerant magistracy with unwonted severity on both ministers and people; and presbyteries were once more reduced to the necessity of meeting in private, and of exercising their jurisdiction with the utmost caution and reserve. These harassing restrictions continued during the two following years. The same spirit of servile compliance with the court in all its unconstitutional measures, and the same implacable hatred towards the friends of civil or religious freedom which, at this period, were so rampant in England, and under the baleful influence of which Russell and Sydney were brought to the scaffold, were now also predominant in Ulster, and contributed to increase the privations of the people, obnoxious not less on account of their non-conformity than their resolute opposition to arbitrary power. During the year 1684, the state of the presbyterians in the counties of Derry and Donegal was so deplorable, that the greater number of the ministers composing the presbytery of the Lagan intimated to the other presbyteries their intention of removing to America, whither some of them had been already invited, "because of persecutions and general poverty abounding in those parts, and on account of their straits and little or no access to their ministry." (51) But

[51] MS. Min. of Ant. From the Minutes of the Lagan Presbytery I find a captain Archibald Johnston applying to them in August 1678, to assist him in procuring a minister for Barbadoes; and in December 1680, a "colonel Stevens from Maryland beside Virginia" wrote to the same presbytery for a minister to settle in that colony. It appears that not long after, the Rev. Francis Mackemy or Mackamie, who had been licensed by them in 1681, was ordained on this call of colonel Stevens; but as their minutes are deficient at this period during several years, for the reason mentioned in a preceding note, (42), the precise date of his ordination and removal to America cannot be ascertained. Mr. Mackamie was from the neighbourhood of Ramelton in Donegal, and was first introduced to the presbytery in January 1680, by his minister, the Rev. T. Drummond. He settled in Accomac county, on the eastern shore of Virginia, where he died in 1701. He was the first presbyterian minister who settled in North America, and with a few

the death of Charles II. in the following year, and the subsequent appointment of lord Granard as one of the lords justices, mitigated, for a time, the more pressing evils of their condition.

other brethren from Ulster, constituted the first regular presbytery that was organized in the New World. It is an interesting circumstance in the History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, that it was the parent stock of the American Presbyterian Church, which now comprises nearly three thousand congregations.

CHAPTER XIX.

Accession of James the second—His measures with regard to Ireland—Proceedings of Tyrconnel—Declaration for liberty of conscience—Presbyterians unite with the episcopalians against James the second—Are the first to congratulate the prince of Orange—Alarm in Ulster—Gates of Derry shut—Formation of protestant associations—The synod send a deputation to William the third—Unsuccessful attempt to surprise Carrickfergus—Tyrconnel's designs against the northern protestants—Disclosed by Mr. Osborne—Presbyterian ministers concur in measures of resistance—The Irish army under Hamilton enter Ulster—Break of Dromore—Proceedings in Monaghan and Armagh—Hamilton encamps at Ballymoney—Skirmish at Portglenone—Coleraine abandoned, and Derry blockaded—Commencement of the siege—Proceedings of captain Hunter in Down—Break of Killileagh—Presbyterian ministers retire to Scotland—List of the synod presented to the general assembly—Progress of the siege of Derry—Kirk fortifies Inch, and at length relieves the city—Retreat of the Irish forces—Arrival of the duke of Schomberg—Carrickfergus besieged and taken by him—His army encamps at Dundalk—Ministers return to their charges—Presbyteries resume their meetings—Their petition to the king—His letter to Schomberg in their behalf—Favoured by William the third on his arrival in Ulster.

JAMES the second was formally proclaimed in Dublin on the eleventh of February, 1685. The accession of this arbitrary monarch and bigotted Romanist to the throne did not, at first, produce any sensible aiteration in the management of Irish affairs. It was not long, however, until intelligible indications were afforded that a material change of policy, long expected and apprehended, towards the rival parties of Romanists and protestants, had been resolved upon by the court. That the government of Ireland would be conducted more favourably to the former party, proscribed and per-

secuted as they had previously been, was generally anticipated; and had such an alteration been impartially effected, without the reckless infraction of law and the studied insults to the latter by which it was characterized, it would probably have met with no successful opposition. But the establishment of arbitrary power and the overthrow of protestantism were inseparable parts of that grand enterprize, to which James had resolved to devote all his energies and resources. (1)

It would be foreign to the design of this work to detail the gradual development of his plans for the accomplishment of these objects in Ireland. Nor is such a detail necessary. No portion of British history has been so fully illustrated as this has been; nor is there any, the leading facts of which are so generally admitted. (2) But the progress of that resistance which the arbitrary government of James encountered in Ulster, has not yet been traced with the minuteness which its triumphant success and its momentous results so amply merit. While, therefore, a very brief summary of the well-known events which preceded the arrival of the prince of Orange in England may suffice, it will be more gratifying to the reader, and more in accordance with this HISTORY to relate, at length, the rise of that

[1] This is unequivocally avowed by James himself in a letter to the pope from Dublin, dated November 26, 1689; in which, speaking of the opposition he had encountered, he says,—"the only source of all these rebellions against us is that we embraced the Catholic faith, and do not disown but that to spread the same not only in our three kingdoms, but over all the dispersed colonies of our subjects in America was our determination." MSS. Royal Irish Academy, of which see note (53) *postea*.

[2] The official despatches and state letters of lord Clarendon furnish minute and authentic information respecting the progress of events during his vice-royalty, and leave nothing to be desired as to this period. But, as yet, there is want of similar materials for illustrating the government of his successor, Tyrconnel. Lord Clarendon's correspondence was first published in 1763 by Dr. Douglass, bishop of Salisbury; but an enlarged edition, containing many papers not in the former one, was published by S. W. Singer, esq. in 1828. It is to this recent edition that I refer throughout this chapter.

memorable opposition to arbitrary power, in which the presbyterians of Ulster bore so conspicuous a part.

No sooner had the invasions of Monmouth in England and of Argyle in Scotland been successfully repulsed, than James found himself at leisure to attend to the affairs of Ireland. Under the pretence that numbers of the Irish protestants were privy to those attempts against his government, he ordered the militia throughout the kingdom, who were exclusively protestants, to be disarmed and their arms to be deposited in the public stores. This order was executed without opposition, though with much secret distrust of the king's intentions. In the end of the year, the lords justices were removed, and the government was entrusted to Henry lord Clarendon. He was sworn into office as lord-lieutenant on the ninth of January, 1686, and from his relationship to the king and his hereditary attachment to royalty, it was expected he would cordially promote all the measures of the court. These were speedily disclosed and too promptly executed. (3) So early as the month of March James declared his determination not to appoint any bishops to the sees of

[3] This protestant nobleman was too ready to execute the orders of James and his councillors; but he afterwards saw his error, and was among the earliest adherents of the prince of Orange. Before assuming the government of Ireland, his friend lord Guildford, anxious to assist him in that office, addressed to him a paper entitled, "Observations on the state of Ireland," in which is the following curious account of the tenets of the presbyterians. After remarking to lord Clarendon that "it will be a matter of great difficulty to steer a right course in religion because the number of presbyterians as well as catholics are so very great;" and after setting forth the dangerous principles of the latter, those of the former, whom he unceremoniously styles 'fanatics,' are thus expounded. "On the other side, the fanatics disallow the king's supremacy, though they will take the oath of supremacy to avoid punishment. They hold an assembly of the clergy, or the classes, to have their commission immediately from God; and that if any laws are contrary to the law of God they are void, and they may declare them to be so. That if kings are wicked and transgress the laws of God, the people may depose them. These are the doctrines of Calvin and other presbyterians, and their practice has been always conformable whenever it was in their power; therefore, they ought to be discouraged by all ways possible, that their numbers may never give hopes to their false teachers to overturn the government again." Clar. Corresp. i. 185.

Cashel, Elphin and Clonfert, then vacant; and directed their revenues to be paid into the treasury, with the view, though not yet avowed, of creating a fund for the endowment of the Roman catholic hierarchy. This virtual suppression of three bishopricks was accompanied with complaints that the protestant ministers in Ireland "meddled with controversy more than was necessary or expedient;" and the new viceroy was ordered to take especial care to repress all controversial discourses against the tenets of popery—an order which he too readily obeyed. At the same time, three irreproachable protestant judges, one in each court, were summarily superseded, and as many catholic lawyers nominated in their places; while orders were peremptorily issued, in defiance of the law, to admit Roman catholics to be members of the privy council and of corporations—to be magistrates and sheriffs, without taking the oaths prescribed by repeated acts of parliament. In April, lord Tyrconnel, a most violent and intemperate Romanist, was appointed lieutenant-general with full powers, independent of the lord lieutenant, to re-model the entire army in Ireland. This uncontrolled authority he exercised in the most indiscreet and tyrannical manner. Protestant officers and soldiers were removed on the most frivolous pretexts, and their places filled exclusively by Roman catholics, whose priests were advanced to military chaplaincies. All these measures of ostentatious favouritism to the one party and of undisguised hostility to the other, were every where observed with the deepest interest; and, as their natural result, extravagant expectations, relative to the subversion of protestantism, the re-establishment of the papal church, and the recovery of the forfeited lands, were unreservedly expressed by the Romish priests and gentry, to the great alarm of the protestants and the manifest injury of the public interests of the kingdom. (4)

This alarm was heightened by the recall of lord Claren-

[4] Clar. Corresp. *passim*. The particular passages may be easily found by referring to the index in the second volume.

don, and the appointment of the most obnoxious Romanist in the empire to be his successor. The notorious Tyrconnel was sworn into office as lord deputy of Ireland, on the twelfth of February, 1687. He prosecuted, with increased audacity and violence, the same career of reckless disregard to law, when it stood in the way of the royal projects for establishing catholic ascendancy, which had characterized the administration of his predecessor. He had, besides, this further object in view, which he cautiously concealed from James and his councillors—the separation of Ireland from the crown of England, should the king die without male issue, and its erection into an independent nation under the protection of France. In this treasonable scheme he was supported by Louis the fourteenth, with whom the requisite correspondence was conducted with so much secresy, that even the French ambassador at the English court was wholly ignorant of it. (5) The new deputy applied himself with vigour to the multiplied duties of his office. Having already succeeded in placing the military power of the state in the hands of the Romanists, his next attempt was to transfer to the same party the civil and corporate authority of the kingdom. A recent convert to popery was accordingly made lord-chancellor, though wholly unfit, in point of knowledge and integrity, for this high station: and by the rapid advancement of the professors of the same faith, only three protestants, and these of little weight, were left upon the bench. At the same time the office of attorney-general was also transferred from a protestant to a Roman catholic; while the more lucrative and influential situations in the courts of law and in the collection of the revenue were bestowed on the adherents of the favoured creed. Of the high-sheriffs for the year 1687, one only was a protestant; and this person, the sheriff for Donegal, had been appointed by mistake in

5 "For this interesting fact we are indebted to the industry of Mazure who discovered it in the despatches of Bonrepaus. Mazure, ii. 287." Lingard, xiv. 137.

lieu of a Romanist of the same name. (6) Though the way had been already opened for the admission of Roman catholics to corporations, by proclamations in defiance of the law, this measure was found inadequate to subject these bodies, as speedily as was desired, to the control of that party. A further encroachment on corporate rights was the necessary result. Intimidation and flattery induced a few of the less considerable towns to surrender their charters; but the refractory cities, which dared to be independent, were harassed by proceedings at law. The obsequious and servile judges uniformly pronounced judgment against their rights. Their charters were recalled, new corporations were constituted, consisting either altogether of Romanists or with a few protestants intermixed merely to save appearances, and in a short time the corporate property and jurisdiction throughout Ireland were exclusively vested in the ascendant party. The first corporation in Ulster which was re-constructed in this arbitrary manner was Dungannon; its municipal officers were appointed in March, 1688. In the month of August, Strabane and Derry, in the following month, Newry, and in October, Armagh and Belfast, were placed under the exclusive control of the Roman catholics. To the other corporations in Ulster no charters were in the meantime granted. (7)

In ecclesiastical affairs, a similar though more cautious and wary course was pursued. To the Roman catholic prelates liberal pensions were allocated out of the revenues of the vacant sees, to which that of Clogher was now added. The popish clergy wore with ostentation their clerical habits, and in many parishes the priests sought to dispossess the legal incumbents of their tithes and appropriate them to their own use. To encourage the protestant ministers to conform to the favoured church, dispensations were granted to the few

[6] King's State of the Protestants, App. No. vii. p. 307.

[7] Harris's William III. folio, App. p. iv. *et seq.* where the names of all the new municipal officers are given, with the dates of their respective appointments, taken from the patent rolls of chancery.

who apostatized, empowering them to continue in possession of their benefices notwithstanding their renunciation of the established religion—an exercise of the prerogative hitherto unprecedented. The most noted of these converts was doctor Peter Manby. He was educated in Trinity college, Dublin, obtained a scholarship in 1667, and in September, 1672, was preferred to the deanery of Derry. Soon after Tyrconnel's arrival as lord-deputy, an accession of light burst on his mind; he very seasonably discovered, at one and the same time the errors as well as the inconveniences of protestantism; he made formal profession of the Romish faith, and in July, 1687, a dispensation was issued continuing him in the undisturbed enjoyment of the temporalities annexed to the deanery. (8)

[s] Dub. Univ. Cal. for 1834, p. 85. Liber Hiberniæ, part v. pp. 116, 119. Immediately after his change of faith, Manby published a tract entitled, "The considerations which induced Peter Manby, dean of Derry, to embrace the Catholique Religion." Dub. 1687, 4to. pp. 19. To this publication the Rev. W. King, chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, replied in a pamphlet entitled, "An answer to the considerations which obliged Peter Manby, dean of Derry, (as he pretends,) to embrace what he calls the catholick religion." Dub. 1687, 4to. pp. 99. Mr. King, who was afterwards bishop of Derry, and the keen antagonist and bitter reviler of the presbyterians, early showed his intolerant spirit by attacking them in this 'Answer,' accusing them of schism and ecclesiastical rebellion; reproaching them for making use of the liberty of worship secured to them by the king's declaration; and branding them all as favourers of popery and enemies of the protestant cause. These unseasonable provocations and unfounded calumnies met an immediate and able reply from the pen of the Rev. J. Boyse, minister of New-row congregation, Dublin, who published it under the title of "Some impartial reflections on Dr. Manby's Considerations and Mr. King's Answer. In a letter to a friend." Dub. 1687. 4to. pp. 68. Manby replied to King, who vindicated his 'Answer' against the dean's strictures, when the Revolution happily terminated the controversy. Manby fled to France; but afterwards returned to London, where he died in 1697. Ware's Writers. The only other clergyman, who appears from the Public Records to have apostatized and received a dispensation, was the Rev. Alexander Moore. He was made precentor of Connor and vicar of Glenavy and Crumlin, August 13, 1688; and by patent, dated the twenty-sixth of the following month, the king granted a dispensation similar to what Manby enjoyed. Harris's Will. III. p. 502. Lib. Hib. *ut supra*.

While this insidious attempt to undermine the established church roused the indignation of the episcopalians, an effort was made to conciliate the presbyterians and dissenters, and to "enlist under the standard of arbitrary power those who had been its most intrepid and steadiest adversaries." (9) A further object was, to create a division among the protestants of the empire and thus weaken their strength as a party, and render their opposition to the growing encroachments of the court less formidable. On the fourth of April James issued his celebrated 'Declaration for liberty of conscience,' suspending, by virtue of his royal prerogative, the execution of all the penal laws for religious offences, and prohibiting the imposition of religious tests as qualifications for office. (10)

This Declaration extended to Ireland, and afforded a seasonable relief to the presbyterians from persecution — which, since the king's accession, had continued unabated — until the fears of the episcopalians for their own church induced them to relax in their severities towards the non-conformists. Ministers now re-entered their places of worship, which had remained forcibly closed during the last five years. Stated meetings of presbytery were publicly held; ruling elders resumed their seats as constituent members of these courts; and all ecclesiastical functions were exercised without molestation or apprehension. (11) The hands of their recent intolerant persecutors were tied up, and religious freedom was unexpectedly established, but upon a very precarious and unconstitutional basis. The presbyterians of Ulster, though fully aware of the insidious design of the Declaration, did not hesitate to avail themselves of the liberty thus granted, and resume the exercise of rights which had been long unjustly withheld. Exertions were made by Tyrconnel and the friends of the court to procure addresses to James on this occasion, from the Irish non-conformists. Accordingly, in the month of June, an address 'from the presbyterian ministers and

[9] Hallam, ii. 416.

[10] London Gazette, No. 2231, April 4, 1687.

[11] MS. Min. of Presbytery.

congregations in and near the city of Dublin,' and a second from 'the congregationalists of New-row' in the same city, were forwarded to London. And in the following month, one from persons styling themselves 'dissenting subjects in Munster,' and another designated as coming from 'the presbyterian ministers of Ulster' were transmitted to the lord deputy and presented to the king. (12) No copy of the last-mentioned address having been preserved, it is impossible to ascertain by how many northern ministers it was signed, nor in what language they expressed their gratitude for the favourable change which the royal declaration had effected in their situation and prospects. From their characteristic firmness and independence it may be safely inferred they gave no approval of the slavish doctrine of the dispensing power of the crown; and from no notice of this address occurring in the contemporary records of one of the largest und most influential presbyteries in Ulster, it must have been the production of only a few brethren, overjoyed at their unexpected deliverance from manifold grievances. (13)

During the brief interval of tranquillity which the ministers now enjoyed, they were once more perplexed with David Houston, who, after an absence of several years in Scotland, had returned to Ulster. Resuming his schismatical practices, and declaiming against the presbytery as unsound and

12 In the London Gazette, No. 2253, dated June 20, 1687, the Address from the Dublin ministers and congregations is printed at length, but that from the New-row independents is only referred to. In the Gazette, No. 2262, July 23, the Address from the Munster dissenters is also printed, while that from Ulster is only reported as having been presented. It was probably not courtly enough to entitle it to be printed. These four were the only Addresses transmitted from Ireland. The Munster dissenters state in their Address, that the first cessation of persecution was occasioned by a proclamation from Tyrconnel, dated the 21st of February, 1686-7. I have not seen any other reference to this proclamation.

13 The only presbytery whose minutes are extant for this period, is that of Antrim; and in these, there is not the slightest trace of any such Address having been proposed, or agreed to, or ordered to be presented; while addresses on all other occasions are invariably noticed.

unfaithful, preparations were made for his formal trial, and the necessary citations were served on him. But being invited in the month of September, 1686, by the followers of Renwick and Peden, to join their society and exercise his ministry among them, he withdrew to Scotland in December following. The presbytery of Route, with the concurrence of the other meetings, proceeded in his trial, and he was finally deposed from the office of the ministry in communion with the church in Ireland, on the eighth of February, 1687. (14) In the meantime he continued to preach in Scotland, until the beginning of the year 1688, when the apprehension of Renwick obliged him to seek refuge among his friends in Ulster, generally styled Houstonites, (15) who appear to have been most numerous in the district lying between Randalstown and Ballymoney in the county of Antrim. Here he was taken prisoner in the end of May by officers sent from Scotland, but under what circumstances has not been recorded, and was transmitted to Edinburgh, where his friend and colleague, the pious and intrepid Renwick, had been barbarously executed a few months previously. His adherents in Ayrshire, having received private information of the route by which he was conducted to prison, boldly attacked the soldiers who accompanied him; and having killed several of the escort, they succeeded in effecting his rescue. It is said he was afterwards disowned, for some irregularities, by his Scottish friends; but his subsequent history has sunk into oblivion. (16)

[14] MS. Min. of Presbytery.

[15] Pres. Loy. p. 416. These persons had now seceded from the ministry in Ulster, on the same grounds on which a similar separation had previously taken place in Scotland; and they became the founders of the covenanting or reformed presbyterian church, which professes to hold by the original principles of the covenanted reformation, from which, they allege, all the other sections of the presbyterian church have, more or less, departed.

[16] Wodrow, iv. 395, 442. Renwick's Letters, p. 386. At page 422 of this latter work it is stated, that Houston was about to leave Scotland for Ireland in the end of January, 1689. He probably came over shortly afterwards; as Walker, in his account of the siege of Derry (page 21,) with the

Though the Declaration for liberty of conscience restored peace to Ulster, and put an end to the disturbances caused by the violence of the high-church party against the non-conformists, all things portended the approach of unusual commotions. During the whole of the year 1688, every possible means was unscrupulously used to lay popular rights prostrate at the feet of a despotic and bigoted monarch. In this hour of peril the presbyterians generously forgot their past sufferings from the episcopalians, and cordially joined with their recent persecutors in opposing the rising ascendancy of the Romanists, which, being based upon the most wanton exercise of arbitrary power and accompanied with the most provoking insults to their common faith, was equally alarming to both. As yet they could do no more than patiently observe the progress of events. The presence of a formidable army, almost exclusively Roman catholic, and the notorious partiality and corruption of the courts of law, rendered hopeless any attempt at resistance. "Ireland now exhibited a gloomy scene of oppression and dejection, of insolence and despair,

view of discrediting the presbyterians generally, makes the following observation respecting him:—"Mr. Hewson was very troublesome, and would admit none to fight for the protestant religion, till they had first taken the covenant." This statement, whether true or false, has been carefully retailed and applied to the presbyterian ministers, as a body, by every compiler of the events of the siege, down to Charlotte Elizabeth, in her "Derry, a tale of the Revolution," who has improved upon it by adding, without the least authority, (page 172,) that Hewson was proved to be "a hired emissary of Tyrconnel!" The Rev. Mr. Boyse of Dublin in his "Vindication of Mr. Osborne," afterwards mentioned (see note 33), thus replies to Walker's insidious observation:—"As for Mr. Hewson, whom Mr. Walker joyns with Mr. Osborne; I suppose he is not ignorant, that he was some years before publickly discarded by the N. C. ministers in the north for his scandalous and turbulent carriage, and therefore they do no more than right to themselves in disowning him. His narrow zeal that would suffer none to fight for the protestant religion but such as would take the covenant, was certainly very unseasonable as well as foolish bigottrie. And I hope as Mr. Walker spy'd this mote in Mr. Hewson's eye, he will not overlook the beam in their's, who are as zealous to exclude all from fighting for the same cause who comply not with their sacrament-test."

of power exercised without decency, and injuries sustained without redress." (17) But the news of the landing of the prince of Orange in England on the fourth of November, and the subsequent removal of the troop from Ulster to oppose his progress, inspired the northern protestants with the hope of yet saving their country and their religion from impending ruin.

The presbyterians were the first in the kingdom to hail the arrival of the prince. Before the end of the month in which he landed, the ministers and their principal hearers in Ulster empowered the Rev. Archibald Hamilton, minister of Armagh, and the Rev. Alexander Osborne, who had been minister of Brigh in Tyrone, but who had recently accepted the charge of the congregation of Newmarket in Dublin, to make choice of a person of zeal and prudence to wait, in their name, on his highness. (18) These leading ministers prevailed on a presbyterian gentleman, doctor Duncan Cumyng, who had settled as a physician in Dublin in the year 1684, to undertake this dangerous mission. (19) To him they gave the following written instructions, subscribed by them on behalf of their friends and brethren:—"1. That in our name you congratulate the arrival of the prince of Orange into England, and his success hitherto in so glorious an undertaking to deliver these nations from popery and slavery. 2. That you represent the dangers and fears of the protestants in Ireland, and particularly in the province of Ulster; and humbly beseech him to take some speedy and effectual

17 Leland, iii. 510.

18 Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry, p. 10. The Rev. John Mackenzie, the author of this very important pamphlet, was licensed by the presbytery of Down, and ordained by that of Tyrone as minister of Derriloran or Cookstown in the year 1673. He was in Derry during the siege, and afterwards proceeded to London, where his Narrative was published early in the year 1690. He died at Cookstown in 1696, in the 49th year of his age. I have seen a MS. volume of sermons preached by him in congregations in Derry, Tyrone, Armagh and Down, during the year 1681, which prove him to have been a learned, orthodox, and pious divine.

19 Boyse's Works, (Lond. 1728, 2 vols. folio.) i. 316.

care for their preservation and relief. 3. That you represent our readiness to serve him and his interest in prosecution of so glorious a design, as far as we have access." (20) So early as the first week in December he proceeded to England to lay these desires before the prince, then on his march to London. He had scarcely set out on his journey, when an incident occurred which roused the northern protestants to a sense of their imminent danger, and constrained them to resort to active measures in their defence.

On the third of December, an anonymous letter, addressed to the earl of Mount-Alexander, was dropped in the streets of Comber in the county of Down, purporting to warn his lordship, as a particular friend of the writer, that a general massacre of the protestants had been planned by the Irish to take effect on the following Sunday. Similar letters were addressed to Mr. Brown of Lisburn, Mr. Maitland of Hillsborough, and were dispersed through the neighbouring towns. Copies were immediately despatched to Dublin by Mr. Upton, of Templepatrick, and by Sir William Franklin, the second husband of the countess of Donegal, then residing in the castle of Belfast. In this emergency the first persons who were consulted were the presbyterian ministers of the adjoining parishes in Down and Antrim; who did not hesitate to urge their people to associate and arm themselves, as a necessary precaution for the protection of their lives and properties. Mr. Cunningham of Belfast had forwarded a copy of this anonymous letter to Mr. Canning, at Garvagh, and, through colonel Philips of Newtonlimavady, it reached Derry on the evening of Thursday the sixth of December.

The troops which had occupied this important garrison had been recently removed to Dublin, and the inhabitants were expecting the arrival of a regiment known to be exclusively composed of catholics, and commanded by a catholic nobleman, Alexander earl of Antrim, whose brother had acted so

(20) Boyse's Vindication of the Rev. Mr. A. Osborne, p. 11. This valuable little tract (of which see note 33) is not included in his "Works" referred to in the preceding note.

conspicuous a part in the late rebellion. Such was the state of affairs when the intelligence of the apprehended massacre reached the city. On the following day the Rev. James Gordon, presbyterian minister of Clondermot, a parish adjoining Derry, advised the inhabitants to shut the gates, and exclude this obnoxious regiment from the garrison. But the bishop, Dr. Ezekiel Hopkins, on being consulted, strenuously opposed this bold and hazardous measure; and, in common with the majority of the episcopalian clergy, inculcated the necessity of non-resistance. The alarm, however, during this eventful day was so great, and the rumours of the massacre, though unfounded, were so frequent, that the people could be no longer restrained; and in the afternoon several young men of the city, most of them presbyterians, took forcible possession of the keys and closed the gates against the earl of Antrim's "redshanks," just preparing to enter. Though earnestly entreated by the bishop and the more grave and prudent portion of the inhabitants to desist from so rash an enterprise, these resolute youths, supported by the great body of the population, steadily maintained the ground they had taken. (21) On this sudden and apparently unimportant movement, the fate of the three kingdoms ultimately depended. Had Derry been occupied by a popish garrison, the armies of James would have possessed the whole of Ulster, and thence passed without obstruction into Scotland; where, united to the forces of Claverhouse viscount Dundee, they would have made an easy conquest of that kingdom, and afterwards invaded England with accumulated strength. But this important post was thus, at a most critical moment, providentially preserved to be the means of defeating the machinations of a despot and a bigot against the religion and liberties of Britain.

The inhabitants of Enniskillen, the only other fortified place in the north-west of the province, having, like those of Derry, received similar warning, adopted a similar resolution. Though deserted by their magistrates, they resolved

[21] Mackenzie, pp. 3—5.

to shut their gates against the Romish troops which Tyrconnel had despatched to occupy their garrison. In this decisive step they were especially countenanced and encouraged by the Rev. Robert Kelso, presbyterian minister there, who, like the rest of his brethren throughout Ulster, "laboured both publicly and privately in animating his hearers to take up arms and stand upon their own defence, shewing example himself by wearing arms and marching at the head of them when together." (22) On the fifteenth of December, by a letter from Mr. Kelso, and another from a few of the town's people, they informed their brethren in Derry of their critical circumstances, and entreated their counsel and co-operation. Supported by a company of horsemen, composed of the protestant tenantry of major Gustavus Hamilton, the inhabitants a few days afterwards boldly attacked the Romish companies on their march towards the town, and completely routed them. They thus gained time, which they diligently employed in placing their garrison in a better posture, and otherwise providing for the future defence of that part of the province. (23)

[22] See an interesting pamphlet entitled, "A farther impartial account of the actions of the Inniskilling men, containing the reasons of their first rising, their declarations, oaths, and correspondences with several parts of the kingdom; together with many other remarkable passages of their behaviour and management not yet published. Written by Captain Wm. M^cCormick, one of the first that took up arms in Inniskilling." Lond. 1691. 4to. p. 68. This pamphlet is supplementary to that by Hamilton referred to in the next note.

[23] Mackenzie, p. 5. Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling men. Lond. 4to. 1690, pp. 65. During the week before Christmas, the inhabitants formed themselves into two companies, "most consisting," writes captain M^cCormick one of their officers, "of non-conformists, as they term them; that party effectually espousing our interest, and never declined us in the most dangerous times." "We now," he adds in another place, "every day wrought hard in fortifying the town, making bulwarks and rampiers at each place where the river was fordable; and appointed a certain number of officers, together with Mr. Kelso, the non-conformist minister, to sit in council every day, to consider what measures were most proper to pursue for our preservation." M^cCormick's Impartial Account, pp. 11, 17.

Though the alarm of a massacre soon subsided, many causes conspired to compel the protestants throughout Ulster to continue their defensive preparations. Tyrconnel was rapidly augmenting his army by forced levies from the catholic population; and these half-civilized and half-disciplined recruits began to plunder the protestants of their arms and horses, while no redress for these insolent outrages could be obtained from any quarter. Their immediate safety and protection, therefore, as well as the prospect of remoter dangers, required them to lose no time in having recourse to additional precautions. The first step taken by the gentlemen of the several counties was to form themselves into protestant associations. These bodies elected councils of war, and a commander-in-chief or general for each county; and a general council of union was appointed to sit at Hillsborough for the whole of the associated counties of Ulster. The county of Down on the seventh of January commissioned the earl of Mount-Alexander, Sir Arthur Rawdon of Moira, Mr. Hamilton of Bangor, and Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore, to whom Sir Robert Colville was afterwards added, to be their standing council; and lord Mount-Alexander to be their general. (24) About the same time the gentry of the county of Antrim, to the number of thirty-five, met at lord Massareene's at Antrim, and chose for their council Sir William Franklin of Belfast, Mr. Arthur Upton of Templepatrick, Mr. Davis of Carrickfergus, Mr. Harrison from beside Lisburn, and Mr. Shaw of the Bush near Antrim; and for their general, Mr. Clotworthy Skeffington, lord Massareene's son. (25) The county of Armagh elected Sir Nicholas Acheson, with captains Pointz and Middleton, and in conjunction

[24] This was Hugh, the second lord Mount-Alexander, son of the lord Montgomery of the Ards who is so frequently mentioned in the former part of this volume. He was born at Newtonards, Feb. 24, 1650, and died at Mount-Alexander, near Comber, Feb. 12, 1716.

[25] The Antrim Association immediately published a DECLARATION explanatory of their reasons for uniting together, which was signed by lord Massareene and twenty-two gentlemen of the county. Mackenzie, p. 52.

with Monaghan commissioned lord Blayney to be their commander-in-chief; and the counties of Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone appointed to the same office colonel Lundy and major Gustavus Hamilton. The supreme council for Ulster was composed of Mr. Upton for Antrim, captain Pointz for Armagh, Mr. Cunningham for Derry, Mr. Johnson for Monaghan, and Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore for Down; and the earl of Mount-Alexander was appointed president. These councils collected voluntary contributions and nominated officers, who at their own cost and hazard raised men and organized regiments; while the presbyterian ministers exerted themselves with the utmost zeal and success to induce their people to enrol themselves in the ranks. Lords Mount-Alexander and Blayney, Sir Arthur Rawdon and Mr. Skeffington, each raised a regiment of horse. In Down, four regiments of foot were raised by Sir John Macgill, Sir Robert Colville, Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore, and Mr. Hamilton of Bangor: captain Francis Annesley also collected a small body of horse and foot in the barony of Kinelearty. In Antrim the same number of regiments were raised by Sir William Franklin, Mr. Upton, Mr. Leslie of Ballymoney, and Mr. Adair of Ballymena; another was raised in the vicinity of Lisburn for Captain Leighton, and three hundred foot were embodied by colonel Edmonstone of Broadisland, with part of which he garrisoned his house at Red-hall, near Carrickfergus. Colonel Francis Hamilton in Armagh, colonel Hugh Montgomery in Fermanagh, and colonel Hamill of Lifford, in Donegal, with several other gentlemen, organized regiments in their respective counties. (26)

26 Mackenzie, p. 11. See also a small pamphlet entitled, "A faithful history of the Northern Affairs of Ireland from the late King James's accession to the crown to the siege of Londonderry. Giving a true account of the occasions of the miscarriages there, and of the reasons why the gentry abandoned those parts. By a person who bore a great share in those transactions." Licensed December 10, 1689. Lond. 4to. 1690, pp. 40. This is a very partial production, chiefly designed to throw discredit on the motives

Immediately after their appointment, the general council at Hillsborough in the second week of January despatched captain Baldwin Leighton with an address to the prince of Orange, informing him of their grievances and the measures which they had adopted for their own defence, and assuring him of their ardent attachment to the cause of constitutional freedom. Shortly afterwards the several presbyteries, ever foremost in this good cause, agreed to hold a special meeting of the general committee, for the purpose of appointing two of their number to proceed to England with a similar address from their body to the prince, and to lay the desires of the Ulster presbyterians before the English convention then about to meet. This committee, or synod of delegates, accordingly met at Connor, near Ballymena, on Tuesday the twenty-second of January. Out of a leet of five of the more influential ministers, they selected the Rev. Patrick Adair of Belfast and the Rev. John Abernethy of Moneymore, as their commissioners; and they cheerfully assessed themselves to the amount of nearly one hundred pounds, to bear the expenses of these brethren while engaged in this important mission. (27)

Tyrconnel, distracted in his councils and uncertain what course to pursue, had not yet despatched any troops to secure the northern garrisons against the rising power of the protestant associations. As yet, the latter had obtained a footing in three towns only, to wit, Enniskillen, Derry, and Coleraine, Newry, Charlemont and Armagh were in the exclusive possession of the lord lieutenant's forces. Belfast and Lisburn were occupied by Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment, composed partly of Romanists and partly of protestants; and Carrickfergus, which still continued to be the strongest post in the north-east of Ulster, was held by a small and insuffi-

and character of Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore. An answer to it was soon after published, under the title of "Some reflections on a pamphlet entitled, 'A faithful history of the Northern Affairs of Ireland, &c.'" Dub. 1691, 4to. I have not been able to obtain a copy of this Answer.

27 MS. Min. of Presbytery. Pres. Loy. p. 395.

cient garrison. The troops previously stationed in it had been, on the second of December, marched to Dublin under the governor captain George Talbot, on their way to oppose the prince of Orange in England; and their place had been supplied by three companies belonging to one of the newly raised and undisciplined regiments under Magennis of Iveagh. (28) In this state of affairs, the northern protestants, having already crossed the Rubicon and incurred the vengeance of Tyrconnel, dared not remain inactive. Being as yet only partially armed, their first project was to seize the arms belonging to Newcomen's regiment, with the view of attacking the inefficient garrison of Carrickfergus. For this purpose preparations were made by Sir Arthur Rawdon and Sir John Macgill, and the arms of part of the regiment quartered at Lisburn were actually seized by captain Obrey and others; but Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore and some of the gentlemen of Belfast, conceiving the further prosecution of this attempt inexpedient until their plans for future proceedings were better matured, unhappily abandoned it. Sir Thomas Newcomen immediately took the alarm, barricaded the streets of Lisburn, and apprized the governor of Carrickfergus of the projected attempt on that place. Its garrison was forthwith strengthened by the addition of the earl of Antrim's regiment which had retired from Derry, and by part of colonel Cormack O'Neill's; and the whole was placed under the command of colonel Mark Talbot, an illegitimate son of Tyrconnel. (29) The protestants though disappointed were not disheartened. On the contrary, they be-

28 M'Skimins Carrickfergus, p. 64. 5.

29 Mackenzie, p. 10. 11. See also a very valuable pamphlet containing a larger amount of interesting information respecting the North of Ireland than I have elsewhere met with, entitled, " A true and impartial account of the most material passages in Ireland since December 1688; with a particular relation of the forces of Londonderry, &c." Licensed July 22. 1689. Lond. 1689. 4to. pp. 31. This was also the earliest account that was published of the affairs of Ulster, extending to near the close of the siege of Derry, and must have been read in England with great avidity. All its statements are corroborated by subsequent publications.

came more confident and powerful as their scheme of association took effect throughout the province. In Armagh, the inhabitants disarmed a troop of dragoons, and a protestant garrison was established there under lord Blayney; who, in the beginning of February, secured the pass at Loughbrickland, and was engaged in almost daily skirmishes with the Romish garrisons at Newry and Charlemont. (30) Not long after, the supreme council, conceiving themselves in a capacity to attack Carrickfergus, resolved to make the attempt. Having apprized some of the protestant inhabitants of their design, they sent from Belfast on the night of the twenty-first of February a thousand men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Bremichan and Major Baker, afterwards governor of Derry, with the view of surprising the garrison. But owing to the badness of the way and the inclemency of the night, it was after sunrise when they appeared before the town. The garrison was soon in such a posture of defence as to render hopeless any attempt from without. Lord Mount-Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon, with several troops of horse, having joined the infantry before the town, a parley was effected, and the hostile parties agreed upon certain stipulations for the removal of their mutual jealousies, and resolved to transmit to Tyrconnel an account of their agreement. Unfortunately for the protestants, one O'Haggerty, a friar, on the recommendation of Mr. Randal Brice of Lisburn, was appointed to carry this joint communication to Dublin. Through this messenger Tyrconnel, for the first time, became acquainted with the real state of the protestant forces in that part of Ulster. These were much less numerous and efficient than he had been led to believe. They were in truth still very partially armed, and imperfectly trained; their numbers were not great, and they were widely scattered; their officers were inexperienced, and their supplies of arms, ammunition and provisions wholly inadequate to the exigences of their situation. They had calculated too much on the tardiness or the

[30] A true and impartial account, &c. p. 10.

fears of Tyrconnel, and on the certainty of receiving support from England before he would venture to march against them. But no sooner had he learned their real condition from the observant friar, than he resolved to despatch the flower of his army to Ulster, to disperse their associations and reduce them to subjection. (31) As a preparatory step he issued a proclamation, dated the seventh of March, offering pardon to all who should lay down their arms and submit to his government, with the exception of ten of the leading protestants of Ulster, and threatening those who rejected this offer with the penalties of high-treason; and privately intimating the probabilities of another massacre by the hands of the ungovernable rabble of the Irish Romanists. (32)

The first notice which the northern protestants received of Tyrconnel's determination was through the medium of the Rev. Alexander Osborne, already mentioned as one of the presbyterian ministers of Dublin. Since the landing of the prince of Orange in England, he had maintained a regular correspondence with his brethren in various parts of Ulster, and by letters in cypher had informed them of the proceedings of the deputy and the progress of affairs in the sister kingdoms.

31 Mackenzie, p. 12.

32 See 'Answer to a book entitled, The State of the Protestants in Ireland,' Lond. 1692. 4to. Appendix, No. V. The following were the persons excepted from pardon; Lords Mount-Alexander, Massareene, and Kingston, Sirs Robert Colville, Arthur Rawdon and John Macgill, with Clotworthy Skeffington, John Hawkins, Robert Saunderson, and Francis Hamilton son to Sir Charles Hamilton. The author of this "Answer" to King was the Rev. Charles Leslie, second son of John Leslie, bishop of Raphoe and afterwards of Clogher. He was educated at Enniskillen school and was a graduate of Trinity College. In 1687 he was made Chancellor of Connor; but he mostly resided on his property at Glasslough in the county of Monaghan, where he held several public disputations, in 1687-8, with Romish priests in the neighbouring churches of Monaghan and Tynan. He was the head of the Irish non-juring clergy, and refused to take the oaths to William and Mary. He followed the fortunes of James II. and his son, the pretender, but returned to Ireland in 1721, and died at Glasslough in the month of March following. He wrote many standard theological works; among which his "Short and easy method with the Deists," is at once the most popular and the most profound. Biog. Brit.

Finding, however, the communication with the north both by sea and land entirely cut off, from the beginning of March, and fearing the cause in Ulster would be ruined through want of timely notice of the impending invasion, he availed himself of an offer of the deputy, to employ him in conveying a message to the leaders of the northern association, that he might have an opportunity of apprizing his friends in the fullest manner of their imminent danger, and of putting them on their guard against the artifices of Tyrconnel to induce them to lay down their arms. For this purpose he left Dublin on the seventh of March, and, though pursued by a party of marauding Irish near Newry, he arrived at Loughbrickland in safety on the second day afterwards. From this place he wrote to lord Mount-Alexander, Sir Arthur Rawdon and others, informing them of Tyrconnel's proposals, but prudently witholding his opinion of the course which they ought to pursue, till he should 'fully discourse with them in person.'

The general council accordingly met at Hillsborough; and on Tuesday the twelfth, Mr. Osborne had an interview with them. He strenuously urged them to reject the insidious offers of the deputy, and, the council unanimously concurring with him, he transmitted to Dublin a letter to that effect. (33) They were encouraged the more to return this decided answer by the arrival of captain Leighton, a few days previously with a letter from the prince of Orange, dated the tenth of Feb-

[33] Walker, in his "True account of the siege of Londonderry," manifestly written under strong prejudices against the presbyterians, described Mr. Osborne as "a spy upon the whole north, employed by the lord Tyrconnel;" and with the view of supporting this malicious and unfounded charge, he published in his Appendix a copy of the letter in which Mr. Osborne had communicated Tyrconnel's proposals to the leaders of the northern association. This gratuitous attack called forth a triumphant reply from the Rev. J. Boyse of Dublin, already mentioned, (see Note 8.) which he entitled, "A Vindication of the Reverend Mr. Alexander Osborne," in reference to the affairs of the north of Ireland: in which some mistakes concerning him (in the printed account of the siege of Derry &c.) are rectified. And a brief relation of those affairs is given, so far as Mr. Osborne and other N. C. ministers in the north were concerned in 'em.—Written at

ruary and addressed ' To the earl of Mount-Alexander, to be communicated to the protestant nobility and gentry in the north of Ireland,' approving of their conduct and promising them speedy and effectual support. On receiving this communication they immediately proclaimed king William and queen Mary in all the towns subject to their authority, with the usual demonstrations of joy, not unmingled with anxious anticipations of the approaching conflict now wholly inevitable. (34)

In this emergency the presbyterian ministers of the neighbouring parishes, desirous of assisting to the utmost of their power in the defence of their country, waited on the general council, or CONSULT, as it was sometimes called, and the following memorandum of their conference has been happily preserved. " On the fourteenth of March, about nine presbyterian ministers came to such of the consult as were then present at Hillsborough. (35) They apologized for their offering their advice in such affairs, which nothing but a deep sense of the common danger and distress of that great body of protestants, whereof they were members, could have put them upon. The consult received them very kindly and desired them to proceed. They then acquainted them that there were in their several parishes many able men, fit for military service, who had arms and were not yet listed in the army, and yet were very willing to venture their lives for king William and queen Mary and the protestant religion. They therefore proposed, if the consult approved it, that they would presently repair to their several parishes, and admonish all men in their limits

Mr. Osborne's request by his friend Mr. J. Boyse. Licensed Nov. 22. 1689." Lond. 4to. 1690, pp. 28. Nothing could be more satisfactory and conclusive than this seasonable defence of Mr. Osborne and the presbyterian ministers of Ulster.

34 Mackenzie, p. 13.

35 These ministers were the Rev. Messrs Archibald Hamilton of Bangor, Alexander Osborne of Dublin, Henry Livingston of Drumbo, William Legatt of Dromore, Alexander Gordon of Rathfryland, Alexander Glass of Dunmurry, George Lang of Loughbrickland, Alexander M'Cracken of Lisburn and Patrick Adair of Belfast. Boyse's Vind. of Osborne, p. 17.

between sixteen and sixty, that could bear arms, to meet and rendezvous on such day and place as the consult should think fit, with such arms as they could procure and ten days' provision with them. For they found by the information of their brother Mr. Osborne that the lord Tyrconnel's army would certainly attack them on the refusal of his proposals;—which proposals they could by no means advise them to comply with, but rather advised them to make a vigorous and resolute defence. To this advice, those of the consult then present readily assented, and presently employed clerks to write orders for summoning the county to meet at Blaris-moore on the Tuesday following, being the nineteenth. Upon which the said ministers resolved to repair to their several parishes, to encourage and excite the people to meet at the day appointed, declaring their purpose also to come to the field with them. They also further advised that the next Monday, being the eighteenth, should be appointed as a public day of prayer and fasting to implore the assistance and blessing of God on their undertaking; which was unanimously agreed to, and the said ministers drew up reasons to be read in their several congregations for that purpose."(36)

These plans, however, were frustrated by the approach of the army from Dublin; the horse commanded by colonel Dominick Sheldon, and the foot by lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton, a Roman catholic officer, the fifth son of Sir George Hamilton of Donalong in Tyrone. On Monday the eleventh of March the main body of the Irish, to the number of fifteen thousand, arrived at Newry. Sir Arthur Rawdon was stationed at Loughbrickland to watch their movements; but the council, being unable to send him a reinforcement, directed him to withdraw his garrisons from that town and from Rathfryland, and to fall back to Dromore. At the same time the protestant inhabitants, unwilling to trust to the protections issued by Tyrconnel, abandoned those towns, and with scanty supplies of money and clothing, hastily

[36] Boyse's Vind. of Osborne, pp. 18. 19.

packed up, they burned their stores of forage lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy and withdrew, some to Belfast, and others to the coast for the purpose of escaping into Scotland or England. Dromore now became the temporary rendezvous of the protestant forces. Hither captain Hugh Macgill led his troop of dragoons from the Ards, and major Baker followed with four companies of foot. Expresses were despatched by Sir Arthur Rawdon in various directions for additional reinforcements, and to Hillsborough for arms and ammunition; but the rapid movements of the Irish general defeated these attempts to concentrate their strength at any one place. On the morning of the fourteenth Sir Arthur sent out scouts to ascertain the progress of the enemy; and, learning that a few troops only of dragoons were approaching, (37) he posted his foot under major Baker in the street of Dromore, and pushed forward his horse to reconnoitre the Irish. But the main body of the enemy appearing, the horse hastily retreated and were hotly pursued into the town; the foot immediately gave way and fled; many of the inhabitants were killed while endeavouring to carry off some remnants of their property; and although lord Mount-Alexander, colonel Upton and others marched to their support from Hilsborough, they were unable to rally their undisciplined levies, and a general and confused flight, which has been usually styled the 'break of Dromore' and in which many were slain, was the unavoidable result. The castle at Hillsborough, in which were deposited a thousand pounds in money, a large quantity of oatmeal and other stores, with the papers of the general council of Ulster, fell into the hands of Hamilton. (38)

This decided victory, which opened to the Irish army the whole of the north-east of Ulster, and the arrival of king

[37] It appears from the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan, that these dragoons were merely a reconnoitring party under the command of cornet Butler of Kilcop. See his Histoire de l'Irlande. Paris et Amsterdam, 1762, 63. 4to. iii. 73, 8.

[38] A true and impartial account, &c.

James at Kinsale a few days previously, so discouraged many of the protestant leaders, that they either abandoned the country, or accepted protections from the Irish general. (39) Sir Arthur Rawdon, however, and a few others resolved to defend their country to the last extremity. Their scattered forces of horse and foot, when collected, amounted to no more than about four thousand men. Of the horse, there were only two troops of lord Mount-Alexander's regiment under major Stroud and captain Clotworthy Upton, with one troop from Belfast under captain White. Of the foot, there were forthcoming Sir Arthur's own regiment, Sir John Macgill's regiment under lieutenant-colonel Whitney, part of Sir William Franklin's regiment under major Tubman, colonel Upton with the greater part of his regiment, and lieutenant-colonel Edmonstone of Broadisland at the head of colonel Adair's regiment. (40) Abandoning Belfast and Antrim, in which the Irish army obtained great plunder, Sir Arthur Rawdon, in command of this force, retreated towards Coleraine, where he arrived on Friday the fifteenth of March, having broken down the bridge at Portglenone, and ordered all the boats on the river Bann to be burned to prevent the enemy from passing over into the county of Derry. (41)

On the western side of Lough Neagh, the protestant forces were not more successful than they had been on the eastern. The Romanists held possession of Charlemont, in which was stationed a formidable body of nearly three thousand men. To serve as a check on this fort, the town of Dungannon was

[39] The earl of Mount-Alexander retired to Donaghadee, and thence to England. Colonel Leslie of Ballymoney took a protection from general Hamilton, and afterwards supplied the Romish camp before Derry with provisions. Mackenzie, p. 14.

[40] Mackenzie, p. 14.

[41] A true and impartial account, &c. A servant of lord Massareene, for a bribe of ten guineas, discovered to the Irish plunderers money and plate to the amount of between three and four thousand pounds concealed at his lordship's castle at Antrim, which was also rifled of all its valuable furniture.

garrisoned by a considerable force, the horse under captain Stewart of Killymoon (42) and the foot under colonel Stewart, the governor of the town, who had several skirmishes with the enemy at Stewartstown and Benburb. Lord Blayney at Armagh continued to protect that part of the country from the marauding incursions of the Irish. But while one portion of king James's army were advancing from Newry towards Dromore, as already mentioned, another portion had proceeded from Ardee towards Monaghan, having plundered lord Blayney's house at Castleblayney, and compelled his lady with the scattered forces in that neighbourhood to seek refuge in Glasslough. So soon as lord Blayney was informed of these movements, and of Sir Arthur Rawdon's retreat from Loughbrickland towards Dromore, he directed the protestant companies at Glasslough to proceed to Antrim, by way of Toome, where he intended to unite with them in forming a junction with Sir Arthur Rawdon and opposing their combined strength to the main body of the Irish under Hamilton. With some difficulty the protestants succeeded in effecting their retreat from Glasslough after a sharp encounter with the Romanists under colonel Mackenna, in which captain Matthew Anketell, a gentleman of Monaghan and a brave and gallant officer, was unhappily slain. But news arriving of the break of Dromore, the dispersion of the north-eastern forces, and the retreat of Sir Arthur Rawdon to Coleraine, lord Blayney was reluctantly compelled to abandon Dungannon and Armagh; and, instead of marching towards Toome, to proceed directly to Coleraine with his disheartened followers, reduced from eighteen hundred to not

42 Among the horse was a small squadron under colonel John Forward of Castleforward in the Lagan; of whom see chap. xviii. note (49). When lord Massareene and the bishops of Derry and Raphoe sailed from Derry to England, shortly after the shutting of the gates, he purchased their horses, and proceeded to Dungannon at the head of two or three hundred men. See his Case, submitted to parliament, among the Harleian MSS. No. 6803, Art. 80.

more than three hundred horse and as many foot. An attempt was made, by a body of twelve hundred men from the forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy, to intercept him on his march, at the bridge of Ardtrea between Dungannon and Moneymore. But having fortunately gained this pass, only a quarter of an hour before them, he boldly attacked them as they approached, and compelled them to retreat with the loss of above a hundred men. He then retired unmolested, on the sixteenth of March, to Coleraine; and at the same time lady Blayney, with the forces from Glasslough, succeeded in reaching Derry in safety. (43) A small body of protestants, consisting of seven companies under captain Henry Hunter of colonel Francis Hamilton's regiment, who had been stationed at Markethill, and had rescued the town of Tandragee from being plundered by a troop of lord Kingsland's dragoons, were compelled to retreat on the eastern side of Lough Neagh, through Lurgan and Glenavy. But on their way to Antrim they were surrounded by a large body of lord Dungan's horse and compelled to lay down their arms. The men were dismissed under an engagement not to take up arms against king James; but Hunter, refusing to make such a promise, was detained and cast into prison. (44)

Coleraine was now occupied by a considerable body of troops under major Gustavus Hamilton, as governor; but their supply of ammunition was scanty, and the town very imperfectly fortified. On three sides it was surrounded by a mud wall protected by a wet ditch, and on the remaining side by the river Bann, over which was thrown a temporary draw-bridge. The Irish forces, occupied in plunder, advanced very slowly from Belfast. It was not until Saturday the twenty-third of March, nine days after the break of Dromore, that general Hamilton arrived at Ballymoney. Here he formed an encampment and rested his troops for a few

[43] Mackenzie, p. 15.

[44] See the Case of captain Henry Hunter, submitted to the Irish house of commons in 1710, and printed on a broadside.

days. (45) On the Wednesday following he appeared before Coleraine with the main body of his army, and, supported by some artillery, made a vigorous assault upon the town. But it was so gallantly defended that, in the evening under cover of a heavy fall of snow, he withdrew his forces to Ballymoney, and being as yet unable to cross the Bann, he sent several detachments to quarter at Ballymena and Antrim.

Intelligence having been received at Coleraine on the following day, that the north-western division of the Irish army under lord Galmoy were marching from Armagh to effect a junction with Hamilton, arrangements were promptly made by the governor for securing the several passes on the river Bann. Retaining for the defence of the town a body of three thousand men, consisting of the regiments of Sir Tristram Beresford, colonel Francis Hamilton and others, he ordered Sir Arthur Rawdon's regiment to occupy Moneymore and its strong castle belonging to the Clotworthy family. Colonel Cunningham was despatched with his regiment to Magherafelt; colonel Skeffington occupied Bellaghy and Castledawson, placing one detachment of his regiment under lieutenant-colonel Houston at Toome, and another under major Mitchelburne at New-ferry. Colonel Edmonstone, with part of Adair's regiment, was directed to secure the pass at Portglenone, and prevent the enemy from repairing the bridge; and Sir John Macgill's regiment under lieutenant-colonel Whitney took possession of Kilrea. Thus a line of communication and defence was established along the entire course of the lower Bann, which cut off all communication between Galmoy in Tyrone and Hamilton in Antrim, and prevented their proposed junction. During the first week of April no collision occurred between the parties. But early in the morning of Sunday, the seventh of that month, a strong body of Hamilton's forces under colonel Nugent, son of the earl of Westmeath, having secured some boats, succeeded in crossing the Bann about a mile from Portglenone, without alarm-

[45] Mac-Geoghegan, iii. 735.

ing the protestant sentinels. Nugent immediately attacked colonel Edmonstone, who had thrown up some entrenchments, and who, trusting to his guards along the river, was not expecting an attack from that quarter. The trenches were defended with great bravery by Edmonstone and his lieutenant-colonel Shaw, supported by Sir Arthur Rawdon who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and by five companies from Kilrea under lieutenant-colonel Whitney. But captain James Macgill being killed and another officer desperately wounded, while the number of the Irish crossing the river was continually augmenting, and intelligence also arriving that lord Galmoy had advanced to Moneymore, it was deemed inexpedient to prolong the contest. The protestant forces, accordingly, effected their retreat over the mountains towards Derry; Coleraine was abandoned and the bridge destroyed; the terrified inhabitants followed the army bringing with them what provisions they could; and, to cripple the resources of the enemy, the whole country from the Bann to the Foyle was burned and laid waste. (46) General Hamilton immediately took possession of Coleraine, repaired the bridge, and placed in it a strong garrison under the command of colonel o'Morra or Moore. (47)

The small but fortified city of Derry was the only refuge that remained to the protestants of Ulster, and every preparation was now made by their enemies to wrest it from them. King James, who had arrived in Dublin in the end of March, set out for the north on the eighth of April, at the head of twelve thousand men and a considerable train of artillery. On the

[46] Mackenzie, 19—21. A true and impartial account, &c. Sir A. Rawdon, one of the most intrepid and intelligent leaders of the Ulster protestants, suffered so much from fatigue in this skirmish, that he fell into a dangerous sickness and was reluctantly compelled to retire from Derry into England. "Collonel Edmonstone also contracted those distempers in the trenches at Portglenon, of which he afterwards died at Culmore, April the fourteenth, having behaved himself there and on all other occasionswith great gallantry and resolution." Mackenzie, p. 21.

[47] Mac Geoghegan, iii. 736.

following day he arrived at Armagh; thence he proceeded to visit the garrisons at Dungannon and Charlemont, where he spent a few days. He arrived at Omagh on the fourteenth,[48] and from this place he sent forward his troops to force the passage of the river Finn, above Strabane, at the bridge of Clady, in order to gain the side of the Foyle on which Derry is situated. Through the traitorous neglect of the noted Lundy, the protestant forces stationed at this important pass, being unsupported, were compelled to give way. A few days afterwards king James and his army advanced to St. Johnston within five miles of Derry, and immediately placed the city in a state of blockade. The progress of events during this memorable siege, which dates its commencement from the eighteenth of April, is so well known that the more remarkable incidents alone need be noticed. The first movement of Lundy and his council was to take steps for the surrender of the town to king James; and articles for this purpose were actually drawn up. But the great body of the soldiers and the inhabitants, headed by a gallant presbyterian officer Captain Adam Murray, were so indignant at this base proposal of a surrender, that the project was defeated, and Lundy was compelled to fly from the town in disguise. The resolute men of Derry now prepared for an obstinate defence of their city. Major Baker and the Rev. George Walker of Donoughmore near Dungannon, were chosen joint governors, the one in the military, and the other in the civil, department. The garrison was found to consist of about seven thousand men and three hundred and fifty officers, who were formed into eight regiments and appointed to their respective stations on the walls and bastions. An accurate account was taken, of the provisions and other stores, and above a thousand of the aged and infirm, with women and children, took protections and retired from the town.

Seventeen episcopalian clergymen, mostly curates, and

[48] Macpherson's Original Papers, Dubl. 1775, 8vo. pp. 183, 4.

eight presbyterian ministers remained in the city. (49) Of the colonels and field-officers the majority were episcopalians, but by far the smaller number of the captains and inferior officers were of that persuasion; while among the soldiers and inhabitants there were fifteen presbyterians for one episcopalian. Though this proportion is somewhat reduced by the high-church writers, yet all accounts concur in representing an overwhelming majority of the defenders of Derry as members of the presbyterian church. (50) The cathedral, being the only place of worship within the walls, (51) was occupied by both parties on the Sabbath;—the episcopalians in the morning and the presbyterians afterwards; "the latter, entering at twelve, had two sermons there every afternoon, besides two or three other meetings in other parts of the city. In their assemblies there were, every Lord's day, considerable collections for the relief of the poor people and the sick and wounded soldiers, who had otherwise perisht for any care was taken of them; and they had the use of the cathedral every Thursday."(52) After the completion of these

[49] These ministers were the Rev. Messrs Thomas Boyd minister of Aghadoey, William Crooks of Ballykelly, John Rowat of Lifford, John Mackenzie of Cookstown, John Hamilton of Donagheady near Strabane, Robert Wilson of Strabane, David Brown of Urney, and William Gilchrist of Kil,ea. The last four ministers died during the siege. Mackenzie, p. 64.

[50] Mackenzie, Preface, p. vii. Boyse's Vind. of Osborne, p. 24. 5. Slingsby Bethel's Providences, &c. Lond. 1697. 18mo. p. 87.

[51] It appears that the presbyterians of Derry in 1672 had commenced to build a place of worship in the city, but that the bishop, Dr. Robert Mossom, opposed its erection; as, in August of that year, I find Alderman John Craigie, an elder from Derry, stating to the presbytery "that the late difference between the bishop and them was referred to his majesty by the lord lieutenant; and that they were advised to forbear their meeting-house within the walls, until his majesty's pleasure were known." MS. Min. of Pres. They were subsequently obliged to build their house in the suburbs, which was of course destroyed at the investment of the city.

[52] Mackenzie, p. 32. The rise and progress of historical error may be seen, on a small scale, in the successive accounts which have been given respecting the use of the Derry cathedral by the two religious parties in the city. Mackenzie merely says—"that there might be a good understanding and

arangements, no event of importance occurred during the remainder of the month of April; with the exception of two vigorous and successful sallies under Adam Murray, now a colonel, who slew the marquis de Maumon, a favourite general that had accompanied James from France. To counterbalance this loss, the fort of Culmore was, two days afterwards, surrendered by captain William Adair to general Hamilton, who immediately placed in it a strong garrison, and cut off all communication with the city by water. (53)

harmony among the besieged, it was agreed to by governor Baker that the conformists should have the cathedral-church one half of the Lord's-day, and the non-conformists the other half." Sir John Dalrymple, referring solely to this statement and possessing no additional means of information, embellishes it by saying; (Mem. of Gt. Brit. &c. vol. i. part ii. p. 39.) "The conformists and non-conformists insisted each to have possession of the cathedral, nor could mutual slaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed, that the one class should attend service in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon." The reader will at once perceive the several unauthorized assertions which are here introduced; but how will he be surprized at the next improvement to which Mackenzie's plain and simple statement is subjected! The Rev. J. Graham, resting exclusively on Dalrymple's authority, tells us (Hist. of Siege of Derry, p. 128.) that "the conformists and non-conformists were drawn up in the Diamond to fight for the cathedral church." Here a precise locality and a formal appeal to arms in military array, are gratuitously furnished; so that having now gotten *the place*, all we want to garnish the narrative is *the time*. This is supplied in the next improved version that has been published, to wit, by the authoress of "Derry, a tale of the Revolution," formerly referred to (see Note 16,) who presents us with the following circumstantial detail of an affair, which owed its existence entirely to the rhetorical diction of Dalrymple; "a short time before, in that very place, the Diamond, two parties, episcopalian and presbyterian, had actually arrayed themselves to fight for the privilege of respectively using the cathedral as a place of worship." Page 171. How different from Mackenzie's narrative! How fallacious to depend on secondary authorities!

53 The articles of capitulation in this case are preserved in a valuable collection of MSS. in seven folio volumes, recently purchased by the Royal Irish Academy and deposited in their library. They relate to 'the reduction of Ireland,' and extend from 1689 to 1691. The most interesting portion consists of a series of orders or letters from James II. to General Hamilton, during the siege of Derry, which were found with the latter when he was

In the meantime, the protestants of Down made a vigorous attempt to preserve their properties from being plundered by the Romanist soldiery. The protections which many of them had received from Tyrconnel and general Hamilton were disregarded by the military; especially by the regiment of Magennis of Iveagh, whose companies, composed of rude and half-civilized natives from the mountains of Mourne, were stationed in the several towns. Their unauthorized and oppressive exactions were, for a time, borne in silence; the people having few arms, and being destitute of a leader. But hearing that captain Henry Hunter had escaped from Antrim, where he had been confined for nearly three weeks, and had reached Donaghadee with the view of passing over into Scotland, they had recourse to this experienced officer for counsel and assistance. He immediately abandoned his design of leaving the kingdom, placed himself at the head of the protestants who had arms, and marched towards Newtonards, which the company of captain Con Magennis were just preparing to plunder. On the fifteenth of April he attacked this party at a place called Kinningbourne, about two miles from the town; and having made prisoners of the greater number, he drove them out of that district. On the same day he dispersed a second party of this obnoxious regiment, stationed at Comber, and rescued that town also from their exactions. Thence, with an increased number of

taken prisoner at the battle of the Boyne. These orders are all originals, signed by James's own hand and countersigned in due form by lord Melfort, his secretary of state; and they bespeak his extreme anxiety to obtain possession of the city, which Hamilton, in July, frankly told him it was impossible to effect except by famine.—Culmore was surrendered on the 23rd of April, and the capitulation is signed by captain William Adair of Ballymena, Richard Johnson, and Benjamin Adair. In the "True and impartial Account, &c." it is stated that James's emissaries had tampered with the garrison and so induced them to surrender; and captain Ash in his "Journal" makes a similar statement; but there is no need to impute any treachery, as it was physically impossible that so small a fort, with a mere breastwork of sods, could withstand the force with which James would have attacked it, had it not been surrendered.

adherents, he proceeded to the Ards, where another large detachment from the same regiment, having crossed over at Strangford from their head-quarters at Downpatrick, were engaged in plundering the unprotected protestants of that barony. These he likewise defeated; and compelled them to retreat across the ferry, in such haste that they left behind them in Portaferry all their plunder, together with several vessels laden with grain, which they had seized not long before. (54)

So soon as intelligence of these proceedings reached Carrickfergus, lieutenant-colonel Mark Talbot, the governor, at the head of a small body of a hundred musketeers, marched towards Newtownards; but hearing of the dispersion of the detachment in the Ards and the increasing number of the protestants who had risen in arms, he hastily retreated to his quarters. From Portaferry Hunter returned to Comber, where he received repeated messages from Sir Robert Maxwell, then residing in the castle of Killileagh, (55) urging him to assist in expelling captain Savage's company who that had been recently quartered upon the inhabitants of that town, and had threatened to take possession of the castle. Hunter accordingly marched during the night to Killileagh, and entered it at day-break; and, having surprised and disarmed the entire company, he sent the captain and lieutenant prisoners to Portaferry to be shipped to England or the Isle of Man. Magennis, irritated at these repeated discomfitures, and especially at the disgraceful capture of his company under Savage, proceeded with a considerable force from Downpatrick towards Killileagh, with the view of rescuing his officers and men, and checking the further progress of Hunter. But the latter was on the alert, and boldly advanced against him. Both parties met at the Quoile-bridge,

[54] Case of Captain Henry Hunter, &c. *ut supra.*

[55] Sir Robert Maxwell of Warrenstown in the county of Down, Knt. and Bart. married in 1668 the countess of Clanbrassil, widow of the first earl, whose death is mentioned in chap. xiv. Note 15. She died in October 1688. Lodge, iii. 6.

and after a smart skirmish Magennis was compelled to abandon Downpatrick and retreat over the strand to Dundrum, leaving the protestants in possession of that district. Hunter secured a small piece of ordnance which he placed in Killileagh castle, and proceeded to Downpatrick, where he liberated all persons confined for political offences. (56) By these unexpected successes the people of Down experienced a seasonable relief from the exactions of the soldiery; the embargo which had been laid on vessels in the sea-port towns of that county was removed, and many persons from the remoter parts of the province effected their escape into the sister kingdoms; the garrison in Derry were encouraged by the intelligence of these proceedings; and greater leniency and moderation were thenceforth observed by the Romanist authorities in other places, lest a similar spirit of revolt should be excited.

But this triumph of the protestants was of short duration. On the twenty-third of April, a few days after their last encounter with Magennis, king James arrived at Newry, on his return to Dublin from the camp before Derry. Alarmed at the progress of these insurrectionary movements, he despatched major-general Buchan with orders to collect a sufficient force from the garrisons at Carrickfergus, Lisburn, and Antrim, and reduce the people of Down to due subjection to his authority. Buchan accordingly placed himself at the head of three troops of horse; and on the thirtieth of April marched from Lisburn towards Killileagh. He was followed by the greater part of Tyrconnel's, Antrim's, and Cormack O'Neill's regiments of foot, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mark Talbot, who overtook the general about five o'clock the same evening. Hunter, apprized of their approach but not expecting an attack, had collected his followers to the number of two thousand, and had taken up

[56] Among the prisoners released from the gaol of Downpatrick, Hunter mentions in particular "a very aged clergyman called Mr. Maxwell of Phenybrogue."

a position between Comber and Killileagh. Buchan, however, lost no time. On the arrival of the infantry he immediately attacked the protestants, and speedily routed these undisciplined volunteers; three hundred were slain in this 'break of Killileagh,' as it was called; Hunter himself was ridden down by the dragoons, but recovering his horse and finding himself surrounded, he accepted quarter and delivered up his arms. Being near a deer-park, however, he seized an opportunity to escape, and springing over the wall, fled to the castle of Killileagh, in which he had previously placed a garrison of fifty men. But finding that these had fled, he withdrew to the coast, and succeeded in reaching the Isle of Man in safety. General Buchan, with the horse, proceeded to Newtonards, Donaghadee, and Portaferry, driving before him the flying protestants who had been in arms; and having left a strong force under brigadier-general Maxwell to preserve tranquillity throughout that extensive district, he returned to Carrickfergus and placed his troops in their former quarters. (57)

57 Case of captain Henry Hunter, &c. *ut supra.* Leslie's Answer to King, page 155, *et seq.* Leslie relates these events with a strong bias against both Hunter and the protestants. He represents Sir Robert Maxwell as sending one John Stuart, an apothecary in Downpatrick, to invite captain Savage and his company to take up their quarters in Killileagh to protect the town against Hunter and his rabble, as he calls the protestants; and then as despatching one Gawn Irvine twice to Hunter urging him to attack Savage, who was betrayed as he alleges by Sir Robert. He palliates the severities of the Romanists and greatly underrates the losses of the protestants; but at the same time he deems it of importance to inform us, "that part of colonel Mark Talbot's wig was shot off his head by a bullet from the castle of Killileagh, while pursuing the enemy." The account given by Hunter in his "Case" is corroborates by the brief narrative of these proceedings which is given in the "True and impartial Account" already quoted, The anonymous author of this important pamphlet adds that after the break of Killileagh, "Lord Duleek's horse chased the protestants into the sea at Donaghadee; but one captain Agnew, riding at anchor, took sixty-eight on board, and conveyed them *gratis* to Scotland." Owing to the embargo laid on all vessels both in Ireland and Scotland, the inhabitants of Ulster experienced great difficulty in obtaining passages across the

During these commotions, which extended over the entire province, public religious worship was almost wholly suspended. The presbyterian ministers, being especially obnoxious to the catholic authorities, were generally obliged, after the decisive victory at Dromore, to abandon their congregations and seek safety in flight; while the few who had ventured to remain were now, by the break of Killileagh, compelled to adopt a similar course. They mostly withdrew to Scotland, where they were hospitably entertained and recognised as ministers, and freely admitted into parochial charges, till they should be enabled to return to Ireland. Lest, however, in this influx of strange ministers, any unworthy or unauthorized persons should be unwarily received into the established church, the general assembly, at its first meeting, applied to those brethren from Ulster who were then in Edinburgh, for an authenticated list of all the ministers and probationers belonging to the presbyterian church in Ireland, for the guidance of its subordinate courts in admitting ministers to vacant parishes. This list was accordingly compiled and presented to the assembly on the twentieth of May. It has been fortunately preserved, (58)

channel. In the London Gazette, No. 2448, I find the following statement on this subject in a letter from Edinburgh, dated April 20th, "The [Scottish] estates, upon a petition presented to them on behalf of the protestants of Ireland, have, notwithstanding their late order of embargo, allowed such ships as the petitioners could agree with, to sail thither, to transport such of the said protestants as they could to this kingdom."

[58] I discovered this valuable list among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It contains the names of all the ministers and their respective congregations; and exhibits the state of the presbyterian church as it stood in March 1689. Having never been printed, I have inserted a copy of it in the Appendix, No. XX. The meeting to which it was presented was not legally a General Assembly, the parliament not having yet settled the ecclesiastical establishment. It was a general meeting of ministers and elders, deputed from as many presbyteries as could meet and send forward commissioners. The following extract from the minutes of the presbytery of Irvine furnishes the instructions by which presbyteries were guided in choosing their commissioners, and evinces the happy cordiality and confidence which subsisted between the Scottish and

and exhibits the surprising extension of the church in Ulster, notwithstanding all the discouragements and persecutions which her ministers and people had endured during the previous thirty years. The number of congregations had increased to an hundred, three-fourths of which enjoyed settled pastors; there were eighty ministers under the care of five presbyteries, and eleven probationers ready to receive calls from the vacant congregations. The general assembly cheerfully recognized all the ministers from Ireland, whose names were thus submitted to them, as "friends and brethren," equally entitled with their own ministers to be inducted into parishes, and become members of their ecclesiastical courts. Nearly fifty Irish ministers had taken refuge in Scotland and were settled in various parts of the kingdom, where they attentively observed the progress of events in their native country, and awaited with anxiety the issue of the momentous struggle around the walls of Derry.

Never before did such important results depend on the capture of so small a city; and seldom has so untenable and ill-supplied a place been defended with such obstinate valour. During the month of May no event of importance

Irish ministers, of which many similar proofs might be given. "Irvine, April 30, 1689. Sederunt Messrs. Patrick Walker, moderator, &c. also Messrs. William [Neil?] Gray, John Campbell, Robert Young [Henry?], John Wilson, Robert Stirling, Wm. Legat, David Airth, James Scott, Ireland ministers. Mr. Meldrum reported he had a letter from Alex. Strang, clerk to the General Meeting, which letter he exhibited, and it did bear that the ministers at Edinburgh and others did meet occasionally, and had seen it fit to call a general meeting to sit at Edinburgh the 15th day of May next; and therefore desiring that commissioners may be sent from the presbytery thereto with a ruling elder; also that the ministers from Ireland settled in their bounds, may officiate and concur in the election; and those not employed be desired to come in to the general meeting. Therefore Mr Forbes, Mr. Warner, Mr. Cunningham, and the laird of Fergushill were appointed to attend the general meeting the said day; and Mr. Legat and Mr. Gray to attend as Ireland ministers residing in their bounds and therein employed; and the rest of the Ireland brethren, not employed in their bounds, were desired also to attend." Pres. Rev. vi. 311.

occurred in the progress of the siege. On the twenty-third of that month, the governors wrote to Edinburgh and London, that the long-promised supplies of ammunition and provisions might be speedily transmitted. (59) A few days afterwards major-general Kirk, with three regiments of foot and several ships of war, sailed from Liverpool; it was the middle of June, however, before he reached Lough-Foyle, and when he did arrive, he made no effort to afford relief. Had he promptly and resolutely proceeded up the river, there can be no doubt he would then have reached the city in safety. But he suffered himself to be deterred by exaggerated reports, not only of the strength of the enemy's works at Culmore and other parts of the river, but also of obstructions in the channel, caused by a boom thrown across and by sunken boats laden with stones; (60) although the boom was not completed till some days after the arrival of the fleet, while the latter statement was wholly without foundation. The inactivity of Kirk, notwithstanding the signals of urgent distress repeatedly made by the garrison, was most discouraging. But the news of the violent proceedings of James and his parliament in Dublin, which had commenced its sittings on the seventh of May, and in a few weeks had attainted above two thousand protestants and restored to the Romanists all their forfeited estates, to the utter ruin of the protestant possessors, confirmed the defenders of Derry in their resolution to maintain their city to the last extremity. James, sensible of the importance of speedily reducing it, despatched from Dublin marshal de Rosen, at the head of a considerable reinforcement, with peremptory orders to push forward the operations against the city with the utmost vigour. He reached the camp before Derry on the eighteenth of June, and from this period the siege was closely pressed, and the garrison, already beginning to suffer under scarcity of provisions, were harassed by frequent bombardments. De Rosen, habituated to the cruelties and oppressions of con-

[59] London Gazette, No. 2462.

[60] Ibid, No. 2469.

tinental warfare, had recourse to an inhuman expedient to ensure, as he supposed, the immediate surrender of the city. He caused all the protestants who could be collected within ten miles, not men merely, but helpless women and children, to be driven under the walls and to be kept there without shelter, protection or food, until the terms of capitulation which he had dictated should be accepted by the garrison. This unprecedented barbarity, however, was unavailing; the governor threatened to execute the Irish prisoners in the city, and erected a gallows on a conspicuous part of the wall; De Rosen relented; and on the third of July, these wretched fugitives were permitted to return to their plundered homes.

In the meantime, Kirk still kept his squadron at anchor, without making the least attempt towards the relief of the besieged. He had indeed sent the Bonadventure frigate under captain Hobson to Ballyshannon, to ascertain the condition of the garrison at Enniskillen, which still held out against the enemy; (61) and on the seventh of July, he despatched to Lough Swilly a part of his fleet, with six hundred men, under lieutenant-colonel William Stewart, to form an encampment on the island of Inch, with the view of affording protection to the protestants of the surrounding districts of Donegal, and of keeping open his communication with Enniskillen. On the tenth, this detachment landed on Inch, and under the chief engineer, captain Richards, some temporary works were thrown up on the strand, where, at low water, the island is accessible from the main land. The enemy were on the alert, and stationed there three troops of horse, which frequently attempted to impede the progress of the works, but without success. Soon after his arrival, colonel Stewart sent a small party under captain Robert Echlin with lieutenants Pigot and Hart, to disperse a body of the Irish collected at a "cow-camp" at Tully, about six miles distant; and a few days afterwards, a boat

[61] Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling men, p. 28.

was carried to Lough Fern near the same place, to relieve a Mr. Cunningham and a body of forty protestants, who had taken refuge in a small island in that secluded lake. Captain Echlin, having effected these objects, returned with his party in safety and quartered his men in the town of Ramullan. Soon after, the colonel, having received intelligence that the duke of Berwick, with a considerable force, was on his way from Castlefin towards Lough Swilly, sent orders to Echlin to remove his party into Inch; but before these orders could be complied with, the duke, at the head of fifteen hundred horse and foot, on the eighteenth of July attacked Ramullan. The streets having been hastily barricaded, the horse were unable to penetrate into the town, and the men being judiciously posted under captain Henry Hunter, who after his escape from Down had joined the armament under Kirk, (62) the Irish forces were compelled to retire with the loss of several officers and above two hundred men. At night, Echlin, who lost only a lieutenant Cunningham, removed his men into the island, and abandoned Ramullan to the enemy; but the duke, disheartened by the warm reception he encountered, retreated to his quarters at Castlefin, having committed many outrages on the protestants of the intervening district.

The works on Inch were soon after completed. Sixteen pieces of cannon were planted on several batteries and redoubts; while two vessels, with five guns and a company of five and thirty men in each, lay constantly on the strand. The island thus fortified afforded a seasonable refuge to the protestants of the extensive and populous districts adjoining Lough Swilly, who fled thither to the number of twelve thousand. On the twentieth of July, Kirk arrived at the island from Lough Foyle with the remainder of the fleet, and immediately despatched two vessels with ten experienced officers and a supply of arms for the garrison of Enniskillen, under the direction of two gentlemen from that town who had

(62) Case of Captain Henry Hunter &c. *ut supra.*

arrived in the Bonadventure, on her return to the fleet, a few days previously. Scarcely had he sent off this supply, when he received intelligence by land from Derry which induced him to weigh again in the afternoon, and with the Swallow frigate accompanied by three vessels laden with provisions, and armed with forty musketeers each, he returned to Lough Foyle. (63) At the mouth of the Lough he fell in with the Portland frigate commanded by captain Lee, by whom he sent orders to commodore Rooke, then cruising off Carrickfergus, to send him forthwith the Dartmouth frigate, as probably being best adapted for the intended operations in the river. On the twenty-second, the three victuallers anchored off Culmore, but beyond the range of the fort; these vessels were the Mountjoy of Derry, captain Micaiah Browning, the Phœnix of Coleraine, captain Andrew Douglass, and the Jerusalem, captain Reynell. Three days afterwards they were joined by the Dartmouth frigate commanded by captain Leake, and immediately after her arrival Kirk, from on board the Swallow, at length issued his orders to them to attempt the passage of the river the moment that the wind should prove favourable. He directed the Dartmouth to engage the fort, that under the cover of her guns the Mountjoy might effect a passage,—the Phœnix was then to follow, and the Jerusalem to weigh, so soon as a signal should be made that one or other of her consorts had passed the boom.

For several days the wind continued adverse. The garrison were reduced to the last extremity. Nearly all their resources of food, including some of the most nauseous and disgusting substances, had failed; their number was fearfully reduced, and above one fourth were rendered unserviceable by the conjoined effects of famine and fatigue. Their hearts were sickened with the oft-deferred hope of relief. The fleet, from which they expected so much, had indeed again appeared; but they lay inactive, tantalizing them with

(63) London Gazette, No. 2478.

the near approach of ample supplies still unaccountably withheld. At length about six o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday the twenty-eighth of July, a moderate gale springing up from the north-north-west, the Dartmouth weighed and stood towards Culmore. The fort immediately opened a brisk cannonade; "captain Leake behaved himself very bravely and prudently in this action, neither firing great or small shot (though he was plied very hard with both) till he came on the wind of the castle, and there beginning to batter, that the victuallers might pass under shelter of his guns, he lay between the castle and them within musket-shot and came to an anchor." (64) At this critical moment, the wind calmed a little and became less favourable, but the Mountjoy succeeded in passing the fort, and accompanied by the long-boat of the Swallow "well barricadoed and armed with seamen to cut the boome," she sailed onwards in the midst of a sharp and well-directed fire from both sides of the river; till, repelled by her first shock against the boom, she ran aground and her gallant commander was, at the same moment, killed by a musket-ball. Favoured, however, by the rising tide, and rebounding from a broadside which she discharged for the purpose, she soon floated again; and the boatswain's mate of the Swallow, who had the command of the long-boat, having cut the boom, (65) the vessel by her weight, when once more in motion, broke through that formidable barrier; and no other obstacle remaining, the Phœnix, followed by the Mountjoy and towed all the way by the Swallow's boats, reached the quay in safety about ten o'clock in the evening to the inexpressible joy of the famishing garrison, who had observed with intense anxiety every turn in their progress up the river. The two victuallers lost only five or six men with lieutenant Seys of Sir John Hanmer's regiment wounded, and the boatswain's mate injured by a splinter. The Dartmouth, having grounded off Culmore at low water, lay exposed to the enemy's fire till the morning tide, when she

[64] London Gazette, No. 2476. [65] Ibid, No. 2478.

re-passed the fort into Lough Foyle, having had only one soldier killed and another wounded, and the purser, Mr. Lee, having received a slight contusion. (66) Two days afterwards the Irish army abandoned their trenches, having lost a hundred officers and between eight and nine thousand men; and on the last day of July this memorable siege terminated, having continued during the long period of a hundred and five days. "And thus" writes a presbyterian minister who was in the city during the entire blockade, "was the siege of Derry raised, to the admiration of our friends who had given us over for lost, and to the disappointment of our enemies who were no less confident they should soon make themselves masters of so weak and indefensible a place. The glory of it being entirely due to the Almighty, who inspired a garrison, for the most part made up of a few raw and untrained men and those labouring under all possible discouragements, with that resolution that enabled them to defeat all the attempts of a numerous army to reduce them: their zeal and affection for the just cause they had undertaken supplying all the defects of military discipline." (67)

66 The statements in the text, relative to the proceedings at Inch and the nautical movements connected with the relief of the city, are taken from the authentic despatches of Kirk written at the time and published in the Gazettes already quoted. Many of these minute particulars having escaped the notice of previous historians of the siege of Derry, not excepting even Walker and Mackenzie, I have given them more in detail than I would otherwise have done.—It is exceedingly interesting to turn over the Gazettes of this year, and observe the extreme avidity with which the court and the people of London received the most trivial and often erroneous intelligence respecting the progress of the siege, and the state of affairs in Ulster at this critical conjuncture. The joyful news of the relief of Derry reached the king at Hampton-Court on the fourth of August, by an express with letters from Kirk written on board the Swallow on the morning after the victuallers had reached the quay.

67 Mackenzie, p. 46. The first account of the siege which appeared was published by Walker in London so early as the month of September. In it he claimed the merit of the defence of Derry for the members of his own communion, while the only commendation he bestowed on the non-conformist ministers in the city, whose names he carefully suppressed, was,

Enniskillen was maintained with similar gallantry and success. Its defence contributed materially to the safety and preservation of Derry, by dividing the forces of James, and compelling him to quarter large detachments at Omagh, Derg, Castlefin, and Strabane, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between these two resolute opponents of his arbitrary power. The garrison at Enniskillen were engaged in many severe skirmishes with the enemy. On the last day of July at Newton-butler, they gained the most decisive victory over the Irish that had occurred since the commencement of the war; routing an army of six thousand with a force amounting to not more than a third of that number, killing nearly two thousand on the field or in the pursuit, and taking prisoners the general, with numerous officers and four

that "they kept their people very obedient and quiet;" as if the presbyterians had been a disaffected and turbulent minority! This disingenuous and bigoted partiality, which is evinced in other misstatements referred to in preceding notes, (16 and 33) gave rise to a very warm controversy. First appeared Boyse's Vindication of Mr. Osborne already mentioned; to which Walker attempted a reply, entitled "A Vindication of the true account of the siege of Derry in Ireland, by Mr. George Walker." Lond. 1689. 4to. pp. 33. Next came forth an ironical *brochure* against Walker with this title "An Apology for the failures charged on the Reverend Mr. George Walker's printed account of the late siege of Derry, &c." Lond. 1689. 4to. pp. 27, which produced a reply entitled, "Reflections on a paper pretending to be an apology for the failures charged on Mr. Walker's account of the siege of Londonderry." Lond. 1689. 4to. pp. 20. Soon after was published Mackenzie's "Narrative of the siege of Londonderry, or the late memorable transactions of that city faithfully represented, to rectifie the mistakes and supply the omissions of Mr. Walker's account. By John Mackenzie, chaplain to a regiment there during the siege." Lond. 1690. 4to. pp. 64. This was fiercely assailed in a tract entitled, "Mr. John Mackenzye's Narrative of the siege of Londonderry a false libel, in defence of Dr. George Walker. Written by his friend in his absence." Lond. 1690. 4to. pp. 18. To this anonymous attack Mackenzie immediately published a rejoinder, which he entitled, "Dr. Walker's invisible champion foiled; or an Appendix to the late Narrative of the siege of Londonderry; whercin all the arguments offered in a late pamphlet to prove it a false libel, are examined and refuted. By John Mackenzie, publisher of the said Narrative." Lond. 1690. 4to. pp. 13. With this publication the controversy closed.

hundred men. A few days afterwards, they received the encouraging intelligence of the relief of Derry and the retreat of the besieging army; and being thus on every side freed from apprehension, the reverend historian of their actions adds, "we kept the seventh of August as a day of thanksgiving for the great victory God gave us over our enemies, and the peace which we then enjoyed from them on all hands." (68)

The several sections of the Irish army that had been engaged before Derry and Enniskillen retreated contemporaneously, plundering and destroying every thing in their route.

[68] Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-men, p. 47. It is painful to be obliged to add that the gallant defenders of Derry and Enniskillen were treated very ungratefully by the state. Instead of being in any wise rewarded, they did not even receive the amount of pay which was acknowledged by parliament to be justly due to them. In 1691 the officers and men of both garrisons constituted colonel Hugh Hamill of Lifford, their agent and trustee, and authorized him to make the necessary applications to the crown and to parliament for their arrears. Seven years afterwards he resigned this office, and his brother, William Hamill, who resided principally in England, was appointed in his room. He used every effort in his power on behalf of his employers, but without success; and in 1714 he published a statement of his proceedings and a strong appeal to the public, entitled, "A Memorial by William Hamill, Gent. agent and trustee for the officers and soldiers of the two late garrisons of Londonderry and Enniskilling in Ireland, their relicts and representatives. Dedicated to his principals." Lond. 1714. 8vo. pp. 40. This effort in their favour met with no better success; and he was again compelled to lay their hard case before the nation in a second publication with this sarcastic and significant title, "A view of the danger and folly of being public-spirited and sincerely loving one's country, in the deplorable case of the Londonderry and Inniskilling regiments; being a true and faithful account of their unparalleled services and sufferings at and since the Revolution. To which is added the particular case of William Hamill, Gent. their agent." Lond. 1721. 4to. pp. 74. From this work it appears that, after two and thirty years tedious and fruitless negotiations, the following arrears were still due to the eight regiments that formed the garrison of Derry during the siege:—Baker's regiment, 16,274*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; Mitchelburn's, 9,541*l.* 16*s.*, Walker's, 10,188*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; Munroe's, 8,360*l.* 2*s.*; Crofton's, 7,750*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; Hamill's, 8,969*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; Lane's, 8,360*l.* 2*s.*; Murray's, 5,312*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*; making a total of 74,757*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, not a farthing of which appears to have been ever paid!

Major-general Buchan, with a regiment of foot and some dragoons, proceeded to Charlemont, and the duke of Berwick took up a position at Newry. Colonel Charles Macarty Moore was appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and the garrison was strengthened by the addition of several detachments from the retreating army. Major-general Maxwell was stationed in command of Belfast and Lisburn; and Sir Charles Carney, having burned Newtonlimavady, occupied Coleraine, and put the town into a posture of defence.

Scarcely had these military arrangements been completed when a formidable armament from England, which had been long expected, made its appearance off the coast of Down. About four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the thirteenth of August, a fleet of nearly one hundred sail, having on board ten thousand horse and foot under the command of the celebrated duke of Schomberg, anchored in Bangor bay. The same evening the troops landed at Groomsport and encamped in the open fields. On the following day a reconnoitring party under Sir Charles Fielding was sent to Belfast to ascertain the position of the enemy; but finding they had retired towards Lisburn, colonel Wharton's regiment took possession of the town, and two days afterwards lieutenant-colonel Caulfield was despatched to occupy Antrim and found it also deserted. On Saturday the duke removed his head-quarters to Belfast, and on the Tuesday following sent a strong body of horse and foot to blockade Carrickfergus, the suburbs of which had been burned a few days previously by the governor in the expectation of a siege. After a fruitless parley, trenches were opened before the town, and a few guns planted, the fire of which was principally directed against Joymount palace, a house belonging to the earl of Donegal, whereon the garrison had mounted a couple of guns. On Friday, the twenty-third, a second parley was held and another attempt made towards a capitulation; but the duke rejected the terms and ordered new works to be erected, and the approaches to be pushed forward with greater vigour. The town was now regularly invested. Three batteries were

in full operation; one towards the west on the Windmill-hill, a second opposite to the north-gate, and a third to the east within range of lord Donegal's house; on these were placed several mortars, which bombarded the town and destroyed many buildings. The sabbath caused no intermission in the firing, and on that day a considerable breach was effected in the wall near the north-gate; but during the night it was successfully repaired by the garrison. On the following day, however, notwithstanding all their efforts, the breach was renewed and widened, the artillery played incessantly on the town, and several of the ships of war brought their guns to bear upon the castle; so that early in the morning of Tuesday the twenty-seventh of August, the flag of truce was once more hoisted on the castle for another parley, articles of capitulation were agreed upon, and on the next day the garrison, consisting of two regiments of foot, marched out, and were conducted to Newry, the nearest quarters occupied by their army. Sir Henry Inglesby's regiment took possession of the town and castle; and soon after, the whole of the forces under Schomberg encamped about a mile beyond Belfast, where they lay for several days.

The duke did not remain here long. The train of artillery being sent off by sea to Carlingford, the army commenced its march on Monday the second of September; and, proceeding by Hillsborough, Dromore and Loughbrickland, on Thursday reached Newry, which was found in flames and just abandoned by the enemy. (69) On Satur-

69 The account given in the text of Schomberg's movements is taken from an eye witness, the Rev. George Story, who narrates them with great minuteness and fidelity in his "Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland" (Lond. 4to. 1691 and 3). I subjoin the following extracts illustrative of the state of the country at the time of the march of the army from Belfast to Newry. "Lisburn is one of the prettiest inland towns in the north of Ireland, and one of the most English-like places in the kingdom." P. 11. "At Dromore, the inhabitants had all or most of them left the town, and there was not so much as a sheep or a cow to be seen." P. 12. "At Loughbrickland, the inhabitants had deserted this place also, and what little corn there was, some lay reapt and not bound up, and the rest was

day the troops advanced to Dundalk and encamped about a mile on the north side of the town. Here they were joined by the three regiments from Derry under the command of major-general Kirk, who had previously taken Coleraine, from which the garrison under Carney had fled in such confusion, that, "they had tarred the bridge and laid combustible stuff in order to burn it, but their fear was such that none of them would stay to set fire to it."(70) Schomberg, unable to advance farther for want of supplies, and unwilling to move far from his fleet, resolved to await the further movements of the Irish army, and accordingly formed an entrenched camp at Dundalk. Meanwhile, James collected his troops, and on the fourteenth of September marched towards Ardee, where he was joined by Tyrconnel. A few days afterwards he approached within sight of the English camp and offered battle; but Schomberg declining to hazard an engagement, under the unfavourable circumstances in which his army was placed, the Irish forces returned to Ardee, which they fortified and where they lay during several weeks. But forage growing scarce and the

spoiled for want of management." Ib. "In NEWRY an old square tower, which they call the castle, was left standing, and not above five or six houses more; the town itself had been a pretty place and well built, standing upon an advantageous pass. I went abroad into the country, where I found all the houses deserted for several miles; most of them that I observed had crosses upon the inside above the doors upon the thatch, some made of wood and others of straw or rushes finely wrought, some houses had more and some less. I understood afterwards that it is the custom of the native Irish to set up a new cross every Corpus Christi day; and so many years as they have lived in such a house, as many crosses you may find. I asked a reason for it, but the custom was all they pretended to. Here the corn also was either lying and rotting on the ground, or else was shaken by the violent winds, for the people were all gone, the protestants the March before, and the Irish now at the retreating of their army." P. 13, 14. "BELFAST is a very large town and the greatest for trade in the north of Ireland; it stands at the head of the bay of Carrickfergus, and the inhabitants have lately built a very famous stone bridge, but the, wars coming on, it is not as yet quite finished." P. 38.

70 London Gazette, No. 2483.

weather becoming unusually inclement, James broke up his quarters on the third of November, and withdrew to Drogheda and thence to Dublin. His example was the more readily followed by Schomberg in consequence of the great sickness and mortality which had for some time prevailed in his camp, and which had carried off or disabled nearly the one half of his officers and men. The sick were sent by sea to Belfast, and on the seventh of November the army left Dundalk, and were distributed in winter-quarters throughout the north-eastern part of the province. The duke fixed his head-quarters at Lisburn, and selected Belfast for the hospitals. His frontier garrisons were at Newry, Rostrevor and Greencastle; he placed strong detachments at Tandragee, Richill, and Armagh; and pushed his quarters westward even so far as Monaghan and Clones, whence communication was maintained with Enniskillen and Derry. The only place in the north that continued in possession of the Romanist forces was Charlemont, which, being well fortified and the garrison under Teague O'Regan amply supplied with provisions, held out until the commencement of the next campaign.

With the exception of a few skirmishes along the frontiers of the province, Ulster now enjoyed comparative tranquillity. Since the arrival of Schomberg the inhabitants had begun to return to their homes, security and good order were generally restored, and the usual occupations were resumed in the towns and throughout the country. Scarcely a spot, however, in the province had escaped the desolating effects of civil war. Houses had been every where plundered or burned; horses, cattle, and stock of every kind had been carried away or destroyed. The labours of the field had been suddenly interrupted in the spring; they were very tardily prosecuted amid the alarms and discouragements of a campaign, and the scanty harvest had been only partially reaped through the want of labourers. The ministers nevertheless gradually returned to their charges and resumed their pastoral duties. In Down and Antrim no meetings of pres-

bytery had been held from the month of March, until the beginning of September. At the first meeting which they held after this interruption they appointed a solemn day of thanksgiving "for the great mercy of a begun relief from bondage; and withal," they add, "considering the great danger we are yet in, and that by reason of the abounding provocations that are among us, we judge it convenient to join humiliation with it." (71) At the same time they drew up an address to the duke of Schomberg, which was presented to him before he left Belfast. Soon after, the deputation, that had been sent into England in the beginning of the year, returned home and gave a satisfactory account of their negotiations.

The brethren appointed to this mission were the Rev. Patrick Adair and the Rev. John Abernethy; and to these was subsequently added colonel Arthur Upton of Templepatrick, the tried friend of the presbyterian church. Immediately on their arrival in London they presented a congratulatory address to king William conveying "the loyal and dutiful expression of their zeal for the late happy revolution, for which they adored the infinite goodness of Almighty God; and with all possible joy embraced their great deliverer and congratulated his happy accession to the crown, with assurances of their steady and inviolable respect to his person and government." (72) Having received further instructions from the ministers who had fled to Scotland, and who wrote to them from Glasgow in June, they drew up the following petition and presented it to the king in the end of August:—

"Whereas your petitioners did present an humble address to your majesty from the presbyterian ministers and others of that persuasion in the north of Ireland, which your majesty was graciously pleased to accept; and they being instructed humbly to request your majesty's protection and favour in some particulars not yet offered to your majesty's consideration, do most humbly pray,—That their former and present sufferings, well known to those who lived amongst them, as

[71] MS. Min. of Pres. [72] Pres. Loy. p. 407.

well as their continued loyalty and early appearing for your majesty may be favourably considered;—That all sufferings for non-conformity may be for the future prevented;—That as by your princely care relief is sent to that languishing poor country which by the blessing of God hath already and will further produce happy effects, so your majesty will appear as a nursing-father for encouraging the purity of the gospel in worship and discipline, till there be a legal establishment of both;—That those ministers and their families, some of them having been in Londonderry during the late siege, others yet remaining in their places in Ulster, and the rest forced to fly to Scotland, being reduced to insupportable straits, may, for their present necessary support, have a proportionable share of the public charitable collections; and may be forthwith encouraged to return to their respective places by your majesty's allowing them a future competent support, until the peace and quiet of these parts of that despoiled and impoverished nation enable the inhabitants to maintain the said ministers in such a way as your majesty in your great wisdom shall find just. Which will greatly conduce to the replanting those parts of that kingdom, augment your revenue there, increase prayers for your majesty's success, endear the affections of your loyal subjects, and strengthen your hands against your rebellious enemies."(73)

To this petition they received a favourable answer in September, through the medium of the duke of Shrewsbury, one of the principal secretaries of state, containing a promise that an annual pension of eight hundred pounds should be conferred on the ministers; and, on leaving London, they received from the king a recommendatory letter tot he duke of Schomberg, which records, in the following complimentary terms, his majesty's sense of their distinguished services in his behalf.—"Whereas some ministers of the presbyterian persuasion have humbly besought us in behalf of themselves, their brethren, and their congregations in the

[73] Pres. Loy. pp. 405, 6.

province of Ulster in our kingdom of Ireland, that we would take them under our gracious protection, and, as an assurance thereof, that we would please to recommend them to you, or other our chief governor or governors of the said kingdom: And we being entirely satisfied of the loyalty and fidelity of our said subjects, and commiserating the sufferings and calamities they have of late lain under, which we are desirous to put an end to, as far as we can contribute towards it, we have thought fit to grant their request; and accordingly, we do hereby recommend to you in a particular manner the said ministers and their congregations, requiring you to give them that protection and support that their affection to our service does deserve, and to show them all fitting countenance, that they may live in tranquillity and unmolested under our government." (74)

So soon as Mr. Adair returned to Belfast, this important letter was presented to Schomberg. Under his fostering influence, the presbyterians enjoyed ample protection and toleration; so that when king William arrived in Ulster, a few months afterwards, he found them, as a body, more numerous and influential than he had anticipated, and not unworthy of peculiar favour. With alacrity, therefore, he redressed their grievances and vindicated their rights; and to this renowned sovereign—truly of GLORIOUS MEMORY, not as the founder of a party, but as the intrepid assertor of civil and religious freedom—may, in a great measure, be ascribed the subsequent prosperity of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

74 Pres. Loy. p. 396. This letter is dated at Whitehall, Nov. 9, 1689.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME SECOND,

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

No. VI.

See CHAPTER XI. Note 13, page 52.

Narrative of the liberation of the Rev. James Hamilton from Mingarie Castle in Ardnamurchan.

[Bib. Jur. Edin. Kirkton MSS. Historie of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, pages 461. 2.]

" Now maister Weir beand at his rest, the other prisoners beand sett at libertie, Mr. James Hammiltoune and his father-in-law maister Watsone had (ye may be assured) a weirie winter, and maister Watson in the March following is called to the Lord and freed of his bondeage. But albeit many meanes were assayed for Mr. James Hammiltoune his deliverie, itt comes no till the second of Maii, 1645, haveand bein prisoner in that filthie dungeon since the thrid of Julii 1644. Of the maner of his deliverie I will speak.

" The commissioners of the general assemblie appointed for publick affairs 1644, heirand of the death of Mr. Weir and Mr. Watsone in that filthie dungeon of Meagre and that Mr. James Hammiltoune (a man highlie esteemed by church and state) was yitt in captivity and could not but die through extreme want of all things comforteable, except suddan remedie were providet. Therefore doe they lay it home to the marqueis of Argyle's door that his Lordship might have gotten these holie men of God liberated

at their first ife his Lordship would have, for the thrie ministers, sett at libertie old Coll Kittach and his two sonnes Archbald and Anguse. But the truth is he had not old Coll now to deliver, for haveand him his prisoner and a wicked man (I dowt not) that deserved death, while Montrose and Alaster McDonald are waisteing and burneing his bounds, he sends his prisoner old Coll to captan Gillespie in Kirkcaldie (who had a commissione from the estates to mak up a warreship) with ordour to keep him sicker under the deck till he, and no other but he, suld send written ordours for his redeliverie, which ordour was sent soone by one of Argyles captarons, who upon the sight of the ordour received him and hanged him ower the schipp side betwix Innerkething and Kirkcaldie. So was he both hanged and drowned. My authour sayes that he was in Gillespies shipp when he saw old Kittagh delivered to the captan, and when he came to shore at Kirkcaldie he hard that he was hanged.

" Now the marqueis to shew what paines he sould tak for liberating maister James, earnestlie requeisted the commissioners to send with him two or thrie men of there number, that they might bear witnesse of his reall adventures and labours for maister James, and at his desire the laird of Withrie, Archbald Sydserfe late bailaie, and maister Mungo Law one of the ministers at Edinburgh ; ar sent with the Marqueis, who willinglie took upon thame, the iorney hopeing weel to bring the faithfull man of God home with thame. But there hope was disappoynted ; for now the enemie beand waxed stronge, wold admitt of no parlie, and Argyle haveand a considerable armie in which was the speciall gentlemen of his name and friends, both pairties resolved to fight. And at Innerlochie the second of Februar 1645 was there a hote fight for a while. But in end Argyle and his friendis were routed, many killed, many taken prisoners, and few escaped. The marqueis had the benefit of a litle boat whereby he escaped at that tyme verie narrowlie.

" This battell and victorie maks the enemie, that was before cruell and more insolent nor aneugh, madd in their pride and presumptione. The marqueis was no more able to gather a armie against thame ; but he, his ladie and childrin, and with thame the chancler and his ladie, haiste to Newcastle for shelter by our armie there. I leave this proud enemy now triumphing for a while, and prosecut Mr. Hammiltons historie and show how in end he was liberated.

" Mr. James Hammiltown's deliverie.

" The two gentlemen and maister Mungo Law returned by God's mercie, who preserved thame from falling into the hands of these bloodie men. So no help is to be had from the marqueis of his liberatione : Upon the 24 of Aprile ordours come from Alaster Macdonald to the captan of the Castle Meagre that he should bring along with him all the prisoners of the

castle (the minister onelie excepted, whome he is strictlie charged to keep in sure custodie ay and while the marqueis of Montros (so was he then called by those rebels) suld send written ordours for his release) to a point of main land lying over against Lismore, to the effect they might be changed with othir prisoners sent from the estates of Scotland. And heir the Lord in his mercifull providence disposed it for maister James his good that he was not caryed along with the rest. For these who were taken away eftir thrie dayes paineful walking ower rocks and montans returned to their captivitie agane, the prisoners from the estates not beand at yett comed. This travell would questionles have killed maister James, he beand then so weak in bodie, ife he had gone to and back agane with the othir prisoners. Within a hour aftir the returne of the prisoners a letter comes from Williame Stirling, baron of Achyle, who was intrusted by the estates to exchange the prisoners, shewing that he was then at Dunstaffage and had with him Archbald and Anguse M^{c}Donalds and othir prisoners to exchange with the prisoners of Meagre castle, and desired to be certifyed by him what day and place they should meet. Withall requiring him that in no case he leave the minister behind him. The captan appointed the meeting to be at Dowart castle in the yle of Mull ower aganist the yle of Lismore, the first of May at ten a clock in the morning. Upon the 29 of Aprile they sailed all ower the sound of Mull, and after landing marched two myles on futt to the castle of Arras, which was no small paines to theme being extenuated as they were. On the first of Maii they come to Dowart, where William Stirling producet his commissione shewing that his instructions bore that maister James suld be first of all liberated, nane before him, nane without him. The captan shews that he had expresse ordour from Alaster generall-major that he upon noe termes deliver the minister, without a written order from Montrose. The Barone ansured that albeit there was no written order yitt Montrose gawe promise and allowed that maister James suld be liberated for his brother naturall, Harie Grahame, whome the estates had liberated out of the castle of Edinburgh. The baron likewise was content to be obliged under paine of ten thousand merks to bring Montroses written warrand within a moneth. But Alasters ordours so awed the captane that he profest it wold coast him hangeing ife he went by his ordours. Achyle rests contented to change the rest, and leave maister James for a whyle, hopeing to procure sudden release for him. So all the prisoners of Meagre are releived except Mr. James and the laird of Glencarden, who had his father slane and was himself taken captive at the battelt of Innerlochie. Mr. James for want of a written warrand frome Montrose, Glencarden becaus captane Johne M^{c}Donald (then prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh whome they valued with Glencarden) was not brought with the rest of the prisoners, are sent back to prison.

" But behold God's mercifull providence toward him; when all except Glencardin and he were released, the baron had two moe M^{c}Donalds then

were Campbells; bothe these he offeres for maister James, and the offer is accepted. The two were Coll the eldest soune of Archbald who was Coll Kittaghs eldest soune, he was otherwise called Coll Mac Gillespie Mac Coll Macgillespie, a boy of eighteen years ald. The other was Johne McDonald, soune in law to old Coll Kittagh, brother to the laird Largie, a gentleman about fiftei yeirs of age, who had bein convarted frome poperie in the tyme of his imprisoneing and became a zealous protestant. So maister James is at length liberated. But honest Glencarden must remaine in prisone till captan Johne McDonald be deliverit for him. But what painefull and wearisome iorneys maister James had to goe on futt before he could come to any help of friends, it wold mak a heart that had any tendirnes in it to weepe. Now Argyle (thogh too late) acknowledges Gods justice aganist him in the lose of his best friends and waisting of his lands for his too small respect to these faithfull men of God, whome he might have gotten restored to him at first on reasoneable conditions, but his deep hatred aganist old Coll hinderet all."

Brief account of the vicissitudes which befel the Rev. James Hamilton, from his liberation from prison till his death; with a sketch of his character.

[Hamilton MSS. See Note 8, page 49.]

"After he was relieved from prison, he then was, by the general assembly of Scotland, transported from Dumfries into Edinborough, where he continued fifteen years. In this time he was appointed by the general assembly one of his majesty's [Charles II.] chaplains; and in this attendance was taken prisoner (as many others of the nobility, army, gentry, and ministry) at Eliot in Angus, by a party sent by general Monk immediately after his taking of Dundee.* Thence he, with several others aforesaid, were sent to the Tower of London where he was kept two years by O. Cromwell, and thence dismissed by him for no other reason, apology or address, but that he (Cromwell) found himself under great obloquy by all good people in Scotland and England, and that he found himself so settled in Scotland that there was little hazard of the raising any armed power there to his prejudice.

"In this time (toward the close) all the other presbyterian ministers who adhered to their principles were expulsed from their places of abode,

* These prisoners, according to the Commons' Journals (vii. 12) were taken at Elliot in Perth on the 28th of August, 1651; and on the 9th of September the Parliament issued their warrant to Monck to send up to London by sea "all the lords, gentlemen of quality, and ministers" who had been taken there.

and discharged all exercises of their ministry. [A.D. 1662.] Whereupon he withdrew to Innerisk; yet it so fell out, that on the account of having the better assistance of phisicians for his health, he repaired for a time to Edinborough, where he died the 10th of March, 1666.

"I shall not insist on his character, only as it is evident he was in providence from his infancy to his grave exposed to many afflictions and temptations, so he was helped to carry with great steadfastness, wisdom and patience, yea, cheerfulness. He was naturally of an excellent temperament both of body and mind; always industrious and facetious in all the several provinces and scenes of his life; he was delightful to his friends and acquaintances, yea, beloved of his enemies. Much might be sayd of his boldness for truth and tenaciousness in every thing of moment, though he was naturally and in his own things amongst the mildest—sort of men; he was rich in the parts of learning which might contribute for the usefulness and ornament of his ministry; he was intelligent, yea, judicious in all civil and state affairs; he was great in esteem with the greatest and wisest; as he was highly valued by the meanest sort of his acquaintances, so he was denied to the favours of great men and popular [assemblies]. His ambition was to be spotless and useful; his covetings to have acceptance with God, the love of his friends, and peace in his own conscience. He lived always frugally; bestowed what at any time he had gathered upon his children (who were all married long before his death); was very openhanded to the poor, and died—even with the world."

No. VII.

See Chapter XI. Note 23, page 61.

Monroe's Account of the Surrender of Belfast to him in May, 1644.

[Bib. Jur. Edin. MSS. Jac. v. 2. Wod. LXV. fol. N°. 103.]

"According to the direction of the Committee of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland, wee doe returne this answere following to the desire of the Hon^ble^. Houses of Parl. concerning the surrender of Belfast.

"That colonel Arthure Chichester, contrare to the declaration of both houses 1 Nov. 1643, did agree to the Cessation made with the Irish.

" That upon his agreement to the Cessation, 3000 lib. ster. was promised to him out of the cessation money, whereof he received 500 lib. ster.

" That he keept constant correspondence with the lord Ormond by letters and otherwise after the Cessation.

" That hee conveyed agitant Stewart and colonel Seaton then come from the king's army in England, from Belfast to Dublin, there to negotiate with the rebels.

" That upon orders from the lord Ormond, hee caused proclame all those that joyned in the covenant, traitors and rebels, and administered an oath to his regiment and the inhabitants for opposeing the covenant, or refused to take the oath against it.

" That from the time of the first landing of the Scottish army in Ireland there was alwaies a part of the Scottish forces quartered in Belfast until the 17th of March, 1644, that colonel Cambels regiment went into Scotland: and the said toune was only a place for quarters and not fortifyed till after the removeall of the Scottish forces, when colonel Chichester brought his regiment and troup which were quartered in the countrey into the toune, and by order from the earle of Ormond fortifyed the same, planted cannon on the workes, and to beginne to cut off the high way that enters Carrickfergus port. Whereupon G. major Monro being advertized upon the 12th of May, 1644, that the lord Ormond and councell at Dublin had resolved to convey in fifteen hundred men into Belfast for the further strenthning of that garrison, did upon the 14th of May in the morneing surprize the forces under command of colonel Chichester and possessed himselfe of the toune of Belfast before they could be in readiness to make opposition. Whereupon the said colonel went to Dublin and his forces to the rebells; and the lord Ormonde and councell there, findeing themselves disappointed in their designe, wrote a letter to G. major Monro, within three daies after the toune was taken, requireing him to restore to colonel Arthur Chichester the said toune of Belfast with all the ordinance, armes, ammunition, &c. as may appeare by the originall letter herewith presented.

" Now forasmuch as the said colonel Chichester and his regiment had agreed to the cessation and joyned with the rebels in their counsels and actions, and so continued in avowed opposition and open rebellion against the parliament of England for the space of six months after the Declaration of the honourable houses, the comander-in-chiefe of the Scottish army was obleiged by his commission and instructions to endeavour the reduceing of that garrison, and having recovered the same out of the hands of the rebels, the said toune or garrison of Belfast ought to be at the disposeing of the comanders thereof dureing their abode for that service in those parts where such tounes and places are, according to the tenth article of the treaty between the kingdomes, of the 6th of August, 1642. Especially since it is so necessary for quarter of the Scottish forces there, who otherwise are not able to subsist, no care being taken for their intertainment. And as the said

garrison, since it was in the power of the Scottish forces, hath alwaies beine patent to any haveing authority from the honourable house, for magazines and other uses; so shall it still be for the future upon all occasions."

No. XI.

See Chapter XIV. Note 12, page 182.

Letter from lieutenant-colonel Wallace to the Rev. Robert Douglass, moderator of the General Assembly.

[Wod. MSS. fol. vol. xxv. 50. Arch. Ecc. Scot.]

" Rev^d Sir,

" Upon the suden and strange overturneings in England, we thoght it heighe tyme for us to consider and seriouslie to deliberate upone whate should be fittest for us in these pairts of this kingdome to doe; and efter we had by prayer and supplicatione which was particularie recommendit by the presbetry, and after the debaitinge of all particullars, and in specialle the conveniencies and inconveniencies of reneueinge of our former vowes in our covenant to God frome whome we had so deeplie revolted, we did unanimuslie agree in this, that our covenant should be renewed, and a representatioune of the cariadges of the sectarian pairtie in England in relation to religionne and government sett furth by the presbitry for the peoples informatione. Thes things beinge matters of great consequence wer not proponded and concluded at one dyett, bot wer seriouslie thoght upon by all the people of the Lord heire, and his mynd and directione to us, both in private and in publique, earnestlie begde. Neither have we to this day seene or observed anie thing in his providence witnesseinge against us; upon the contraire giveing us everie day moir and moir incouradgements heirin and confirmations of his acceptinge of this our sacrifice at our hands. We think God in his righteous judgement hath so plagued the polesies and, as some say, the prudentiall wayes of all men about this worke since the beginninge, that wee durst no moir consulte with flesh and bloode; but haveinge the ground and fountaine of all our evills mad knowne unto us, and our duetie soe cleirlie pointed out, wer constrained with boldnes and confidence chearfullie to stepe forward and tak upp Christ and his crosse in our airmes as the onlie meane even of our owne secuiritie.

" The Covenant and Representation beinge both concluded upon by the presbetry, they did send one of their number, by name Mr. Anthony Kenedie, to collonel Monck, beinge at that tyme at Dundalk, desiring his concurrence with them; his answer was—the particullars demanded wer of such consequence that he would not answer them particullarlie, till he should

cume to the quarters and advise with the two lords Clanbrissell and Airds, and other officers of regiments and gentlemen of the cuntry. Hee came downe, and against the day apointed the ministers went to Lisnegarvey where the meatinge was to receave his answere, but found no satisfaction: Yett their was a secound meating apointed in that same place which was to be moir full. At this meatinge, did the officers of the airmy and the people frome the severall parishes of the cuntrie, petitione the generall that he wold be pleased to grant the desires of the presbyeterie, which wer that he should publiquelie sign the covenant himself, and give order to all under him to doe the like, and that he should declair publiqulie against the sectariane pairtie in England as enemies to the covenant, and likways to restrain the bringing in of any moir Irishes upon protections; and the puttinge of the cuntrie in a poustour of warr for their securitie frome all enemies within and without the kingdoms. Bot after they had spent a longe tyme their, they returned all unsatisfied in any one particullarre: whereupone their was a meeting appointed at Newtoune by the officers of the army and gentlemen of the cuntrie to consider upon what was next to be done. At this meating it was thoght necessarie that since we had unanimuslie taken the covenant and so had declaired ourselves enemies to the now prevaillinge pairtie in England, that we should unitte ourselves firmlie in a formall and regullar way for maintenance of what we had done; whereupon there was another dyete appointed at Cumber. Bot before our pairtinge at Newtoune wee sent a commissioner againe to coll. Monck renewing our former desires.

"Now all this tyme is there post efter post sent away to England to certifie of our cariadge, and to require speadie supplie. At Cumber there was one sent to coll. Monck desiringe a personall treatie with him; and in the meantyme letters wreatin for ane accompt of all the able horsemen and airmes that were in the cuntrie. Collonel Monck granted the personall treatie at Belfast upon assurance of his saife returne, which he demanded and was granted. At that dyete was the Declairation and Propositions of the airmy and cuntrie signed by both. All that past at that meatinge you will perceave by the inclossed, and by what I sent to my lord Argyle. The result of this meatinge was the giveing of him a new dyette, at the which he promeist to give his finall answer whether he wold joyne with us or not. When that dyete came, which was upon Munday last, wee had nothing from him bot a desire of a new delay and a promise of good neighbourhood howsoever maters goe. This was frome Dundalk where he is and liklie shall be, till the forces longed for by collonel Jones and him doth come; whoe, as wee ar certainlie informed and not denyed by sume of themselves, ar to have the chiefe command, the one as lieutenant-generall the other as generall-major of the sectaries forces in this kingdome.

"This is the perfyte accompt of the substance of all that hes past betwixt us and coll. Monck, and sumthing of a representation of our estate. Ther is non in thes pairts except papists that have not taken the covenant, even

all the Englishe under Monck's command. It is likwayes taken most cheirfullie about the Derrie, and we and they ar unite in one, soe that we ar no mor two bot one: they have beene verie much trobled pairtlie by malignants, pairtlie by sectaries, I meane Sir Charles Couts and thes within Derrie. Bot God, who is wise in counsell and knoweth how to delyver his own out of tentation, hath upon Setterday last caused the sectarie to fall out upon the mallignant and baite him to peaces. Thair was at least kilt and taken prissoners nyn or ten, the onlie active men of the malignant pairtie. Now the honest pairtie ar lyen down closse about the Derrie; it is not liklie that they can carrie it as long as they have vittualls, which we hope shall not be longe. We ar now in greatest fear of my lord Ormond, who in effect hes the most pairt of this kingdome at his command. Thus you have by this and by the papers I sent this last week to my lord Argyle, a perfyte accompt of the conditione of the affaires heir, wherof wee defer your censure and judgments upon a through examination of all; as likwayes your advice to us your brethren in relatione to the advancement of the publique worke, and our own and your secuiritie and saiftie. From your servant,

"Apryll 27, 1649. J. W."

No. XII.

See Chapter XV. Note 35, page 247.

Account of the death and dying words of major Edmond Ellis.

[MSS. Bib. Jur. Edin. Rob. iii. 2, 16. No. 18.]

"The words of that worthie and faithful professor of the gospel, major Edmund Ellis, on his death-bed a little before his last breathing, in the hearing of Christians who came to visit him; the day being the eleventh of Junii, being the day after the offering of the Engagement at Antrim to the parishes thereabout, and to Templepatrick and Belliclare. [A. D. 1651.]

"On the Lord's day, being the 8th of June at night, after he had spent the day faithfully in his family, his sickness began to work upon him, which he and others with him did conceive to be the second sickness which formerly he had about fifteen weeks before, and was then near unto death; and that was called by the doctors a collick, contracted by choller and melancholy, which continued untill the day of his death being the Wednesday. In the morning he rose, but being exceeding faint, partly by the anguish of the sickness itself, and partly by the operation of the physick which he had taken the day before, he said to his daughter Langford who came to see

him, 'What made you to rise so soon? As for me, I feel no more paine than you have.' Yet a little whyle after his wife came to him and told him that death was working with him, and that the signes of it was evident by the great coldness of his legs, arms, and hands; upon which words he also apprehended death to himself, and after that never doubted of it. Then he sent for diverse of his friends; in all his discourse he spake like a dying man, mortifyed to this present world, and languishing much for communion with the Lord.

"At first he was something doubting concerning his own salvation, expressing himself thus to a friend, that he could not now get any thing particularly to gripp on, except one general promise, 1 Tim. i. 15.; after that he left off doubting, repeating that text before his friends and saying, 'I declare unto you that I have nothing in myself to lean on, but all depends on his free mercy; that is the only life I live on.' Likewise this promise he fastened on, Isa. xlv. 22, 'I see here,' sayes he, 'that a look is taken for faith.' Being asked what he thought of this present way and power that soe many are following, and have turned from their former principles, even to the persecuting of that which they formerly avowed? He answered very gravely, with his eyes towards heaven, which at that tyme was frequently his gesture, 'the way that is now persecuted in the land I declare to be the old way and the way that leads unto life, the way that I found God in. Men are but seeking vanity in that new way. I doe not now fear the sectaries, though I have often feared this tryall of the engadgement, and now I have gotten a deliverance.' He said likewise that neither sectaries nor malignants should carrie it; this he spake oftener than once or twice. He gave also warning concerning the engagement, speaking particularly thereof to me, saying, 'Beware of the engagement, be faithful and exemplarie to the people about you.' When his friends about him were all weeping he said to them, 'Weep not; goe apart to pray for me, and lend me a lift.' He said to his wife and others who were in their dutie about him, leaving nothing undone that they thought for his good for the preserving his life if it had been possible, while they were offering him some cordiall—'Doe not stay me—O doe not stay me!'

"He took his leave solemnly of his whole family and others about him, speaking severally apart to them all. He began with his wife, and desyring her to speak of the sweet and comfortable fellowship that was betwixt them since their marriage. 'We have been,' said he, 'now these seven years married, and there was never a contradictory word betwixt us;' and having exhorted her refreshingly, gravelie, and piouslie, he prayed God to strengthen her under the present burden. And speaking to them about him he said, 'Help this poor woman to bear the cross; there is nothing that pities me in my departure, but the condition of my poor wife.' Among other particulars he desyred her to doe him the last duty with her own hands, to wit, to wind him herself. Upon which words, as there was no marvell, she fell a weeping

more heavilie, we cannot say, bitterlie, but as one wounded deeplie in affection. Whereupon he replyed to her, ' I have been these seven years with you, but ye never angred me till now.'

" Next he spoke to his mother; ' Dear mother, make sure work of your salvation; I have been often convinced, though I have been speaking to you, that I was not faithful as I ought.' To his daughter Langford, ' I am confident that you have begun already. Hold on; I have been speaking to you some times and praying for you.' To his son Mr. Upton, ' Arthur, you are but young, seek unto God. I have been many times desyring you and praying for you. I had once the possession of all you are to enter to, and I was steward to it a little while; and you know not how long you may enjoy it; therefore make sure your salvation.' To his kinsman captain Welsh, ' George, you have good knowledge, pray that it may be sanctifyed unto you, which is the only polishing of a man's endowments. Be frequent in prayer, and make sure your salvation; death and life are before you.' To his servants he spake and exhorted them concerning their salvation; commending some of them for their progress in christianity.

" Then he called for his daughter Susanna, being about two years old, and put his hand on her head and prayed that the Lord would bless her and train her up in his wayes, and make her his servant, and make good unto her that promise—I will be thy God and the God of thy seed. Also he said, ' I often prayed for her both before she was born and since.' To a friend, ' Ye have begun to be faithfull; study every day to be more faithfull; and shrink not from one hair-broad of the truth for all the hazard and difficulties ye may meet with: study to strengthen others.' To Mrs. Kennedy, ' Study to mortification, and be helpfull to your husband in his duty; that you may be comfortable to him in his present condition.' To Mr. Jeremy O'Quin he said, ' Mr. Jeremy, ye have not been soe faithful for Christ as ye should have been; study to more faithfulnesse. You have begun in the spirit, but its to be feared ye end in the flesh; I mean your conniving too much with this present power. Stand fast and be faithfull,' with some more speeches to that effect. To Peter Saron, ' Peter, you and I have been often together, death and life now is not jesting, neither this that I am now going in possession of; I received the arles [earnest] many tymes at the communions at Holywood.' To Mr. Shaw, ' Mr. Shaw, I am glad to have seen you; I will take my leave of you: outward profession will not doe the turn: life and death are no jesting matter.'

" He desired a friend to speak to his brother Clotworthy, his brother captain Ellis, and to captain Langford: ' Tell them in my name that they make sure their salvation; and as they have begun to give a testimony unto the truth, that they will continue.' Afterwards he spoke these same words. He took leave with my lady Clotworthy, and Mrs. Clotworthy, having likewise spoken unto them gravelie and piouslie, as they had received Christ soe to walk in him; and being asked if he would drink, he answered, ' I hope

shortly to drink of that new wine in the kingdom of heaven.' Also he said frequently to his wyfe and others in their bewailing, 'Ye will soon follow; ye will soon follow.'

"He went away very sweetly. He was in an agonie for a little tyme; but he calmed mildlie, longing much for his dissolution and compleat union with the Lord. He said, 'Lord Jesus, come quickly. Take thou long steps for I have taken short.' After that he said, 'The bridegroom bids me welcome.'

"Beautifull was he to the profession in his life tyme, and beautifull in his death, and strengthening to them that were about him."

No. XIII.

See Chapter XVI. Note 1, page 272.

Names of Presbyterian landholders and others proposed to be removed from Ulster into Leinster and Munster, in 1653.

[Declaration by the Commissioners for the settling and securing the Province of Ulster; dated at Carrickfergus, the 23rd of May, 1653.]

"A list of the names of such as are to remove according to the foregoing Declaration:—

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

BELFAST AND MALONE QUARTERS.

Lieut. Thomas Corston
Corporal Thomas Mac Cormick
Hugh Doke
Robert Cluxton
George Martin
Alexander Lockard
Robert King
Quintin Catherwood

WEST QUARTERS OF CARRICKFERGUS.

John Murray
John Russel
John Reid
John Young
John Donnelson
John Hanna
James Reid
James Patterson
William Kiggard
George Russel
John Holmes
George Gibson
Robert Tikye
John Clark, sen.
Patrick Martin
Nicholas Campbell
Andrew Read, sen.
Andrew Read, jun.
Quarter-master Archy Crawford

BROAD-ISLAND AND EAST QUARTERS OF CARRICKFERGUS.

Gilbert Eccles
John Dowglesson
Captain Edmonston
David Mac Clee
David Harpur
John M^{c}Kerger
Walter Hutchinson
Thomas Mac Colpin
Matthew Logan

ISLAND-MAGEE, MAGHERAMORE AND BALLYNURE QUARTERS.

Captain Robert Kinkead
Hugh Hume
James Lawder
Captain Jas. Mac Cullogh
John Blair
William Agnew
John Agnew

SIX-MILE-WATER QUARTERS.

Captain George Welsh
Mr. William Shaw
Captain Ferguson
Lieut. Huston
Lieut. Robt. Ferguson
Alexander Pringle
Andrew Taggart
Quintin Kennedy
James Cutberd [Cuthbert?]
John Wilson
Teague O'Munts
Wm. Crawford
Wm. Sloane
Mr. Arthur Upton
John Crawford
Mr. Francis Shaw
Gilbert Mac Neilly
Lieut. Samuel Wallace
George Young
John Wilson

ANTRIM QUARTERS.

Captain Henry Sibbalds
Captain John Williams
Captain John Fisher
Captain John Macbride
Quarter-master Mitchell
Major Clotworthy
David Mitchell
Ensign John Cormick
John Waugh, merchant
Robert Shannon
John Whyte
Quarter-master Ferguson
Captain James Campbell
Lieut. James Lindsay
Lieut. James M^{c}Adam

SHANES CASTLE, LARGY AND TOOME QUARTERS.

Lieut.-colonel Walter Stewart
Lieut. Andrew Adair
Henry Verner
Wm. Mac Cullogh
Cornet John Shaw
Lieut. James Dobbin
Ensign John Bryan
Thomas Collock [Pollock?]
Matthew Hamill, Laird of Rockwood
Captain Robert Huston
Captain Jackson
Lieut. Mac Nally
Lieut. Robert Carre
Lieut. James Pont
Lieut. Hamill
Lieut Grimsills
Ensign Dobbin
Lieut. Alex. Cunningham
Ensign Robert Cunningham
Lieut. Martin
Robert Porter
Wm. Collock

BRAID, KEVIT, AND CLONOGHORTY QUARTERS.

Thomas Adair
Corporal James Mac Cullogh
Wm. Hamilton
John Spratt
Lieut. Paul Cunningham
Capt. Wm. Huston
Sir Robert Adair
Capt. Thomas Fairborn
Capt. David Johnson
Lieut. Auchmuty
Lieut. Wm. Johnson
Major Alex. Adair
Cornet James Brown
Cornet John Stewart
Adam Johnson
James Ewart
Kingham Dunbarr
Halbert Gledston

KILLILAGH AND KILMAKEVIT QUARTERS.

David Kennedy
Lieut. Campbell
Capt. Henry Langford
William Norris
William Cunningham
George Campbell
John Gordon of Borsheagh
Lieut. Erwin
Lieut. Antony Ellis
Lieut. Mac Ilroy

GLENARM BARONY.

Mr. James Shaw
Capt. John Shaw
Mr. Donnelson
John Berry
Patrick Agnew
John Shaw
James Cromie
Francis Agnew
William Greg
Randal Buttle
James Donnelson
Captain-lieut. Jas. Hume
James Fenton

ROUTE QUARTERS.

Major John Stewart
Lieut.-col. Robert Kennedy
Capt. James Stewart
Capt. Alex. Stewart
Fergus Mac Dougall
John Mac Dougall
John Boyle
John Getty
Alex. Stewart, sen.
James Maxwell
Capt. Marmaduke Shaw
John Henry
Cornet Robert Knox
Mr. Wm. Hutchin
Robert Henry
Alexander Scott
Lieut. James Moncrief
Robert Harrute
Andrew Rowan
Thomas Boyd
Samuel Dunbarr
Alex. Delap
Adam Delap
Anthony Kennedy
Major Hugh Montgomery
Cornet John Gordon
Captain John Huston
Lieut.-col. Cunningham
John Bell
Mr. Adam Boyd
John Reid
Lieut. Arch. Campbell
Mr. John Peoples
Mr. Cathcart
Capt. Arch. Boyd
Capt. John Robinson
Lieut. Thomas Stewart
Quart.-master Ro. Stewart

COLERAINE QUARTERS.

John Johnson
Thos. Abernethy
Edward M^cClelland
James Johnson
Gilbert Col. M^cPhilip
David Wilson
Robert Hutton
Major Robert Blair
Ensign Andrew M^cAdam
Ensign Robert Mills
Ensign Alex. M^cCann
Ensign Donald M^cFerson

COUNTY OF DOWN.

CASTLEREAGH, KILWARLIN, AND LISNEGARVY QUARTERS.

Corporal Gilbert Matthews
John Strain
John Cowtard
Robert Graham
James Graham
John Cowan
Thomas Rea
Capt. James Manson

LORD OF ARDS' QUARTERS.

The Lord Ards
Captain Charles Campbell
Capt. Wm. Buchanan
Lieut. Hugh Dundas
Capt. John Keith
John Montgomery of Moville
Lieut. James Nowell
James Mac Conkey
Wm. Catherwood
Wm. Shaw
Fergus Kennedy
Capt. Hugh Montgomery
Mr. Hugh Montgomery
Lieut. John Wilson
Lieut. And. Cunningham
Lieut. M^cDowell of Cumber

LITTLE ARDS, GREYABBEY, AND LISBURNAGH QUARTERS.

Gilbert Heron
Robert Maxwell
Robert Ross
John Park
Lieut. John Monipenny

LORD CLANEBOY'S QUARTERS.

The Lord Claneboy
Lieut. Gawn Hamilton
Capt. John Boyle
Lieut. Hugh Wallace
James Ross, sen.
Wm. Hamilton
Mr. George Ross
John Hamilton of Ballymacgormack
Patrick Allen
Gawn Hamilton
Captain Alex. Stewart
Wm. Hamilton, jun.
John Stevenson
Ninian Tate
Lieut. Edward Baillie
Francis Purdy
Capt. James Stevenson
John Barclay
Quart.-mast. Edward Magee
Ensign James Cooper
Lieut. Robt. Cunningham
Lieut. Carr
Capt. Matthew Hamilton
Capt. Colin Maxwell
David Williamson
James Ross, jun.

LECALE QUARTERS.

Lieut. Hugh Montgomery
Lieut. Launcelot Greece [Gracey?]
Lieut. Thomas Lindsay
Lieut. Woodney
Lieut. John Reynolds
Capt. John Wooll
James Stewart
John Dunbarr
John Tenant
James Porter
Stephen Masor [Mercer?]
John McDowell

No. XIV.

See Chapter XVI. Note 13, page 294.

Extracts from "The Civil Establishment of the Commonwealth for Ireland for the year 1655."

[MS. State Papers in Dublin Castle.]

N. B. The reader will remember, that, with the exception of six ministers who were presbyterians and perhaps a dozen episcopalians, the remaining one hundred and thirty were independents or baptists; and that, owing to the change in the value of money, the annexed salaries ought, at the very lowest computation, to be multiplied by ten to exhibit their present value:— in other words, £100 a year THEN *would be equal to £1000 a year* NOW.

MINISTERS' ALLOWANCES.

PRECINCT OF DUBLIN.

Dublin City.	£	s.	d.
Doctor Thos. Harrison..	300	0	0
Doctor Sam. Winter....	200	0	0
Nathaniel Brewster	200	0	0
Stephen Charnocke	200	0	0
Robert Chambers	200	0	0
Henry Wooton	200	0	0
Thomas Wilkinson.....	100	0	0
Nath. Partridge to make up his salary as chaplain to the army £200	78	13	4
Swords. Doctor Daniel Rowles	100	0	0
Naas. Peter Rowe.....	100	0	0
Manooth. Rich. Hopwood	100	0	0
Bullocke. Nath. Hoyle..	100	0	0
Chapelizod. Hugh Gunne	80	0	0
Lucan. Dan. Neyland ..	80	0	0
Finglass. Thom. Coffye..	50	0	0
Rathfarnham. James Bishop.....	50	0	0
Luske. John Archdale ..	30	0	0
George Gunne	46	0	0
Dunboyne. Edw. Neale..	40	0	0
William Lackey.....	40	0	0
Clandolky. Wm. Olliver	30	0	0
William Burton.....	20	0	0
Joseph Scott	20	0	0
Dublyn. Thom. Birdsall	30	0	0
	£2444	13	4

From the list for 1654.

Godfrey Daniel £20.

Edward Price, gone to preach to the Pty in Scotland £100.

PRECINCT OF TRYM.

	£	s.	d.
Drogheda. Mich. Briscoe	200	0	0
Dundalke. Jos. Bowesfield.....	110	0	0
Kells. Ambrose Jones ..	100	0	0
Nobber. Samuel Stephenson	60	0	0
Ardee. Joseph Bury	50	0	0
Terroghan. Alex. Sharpe	41	12	0
Skreene. Robert Nicholls	40	0	0
Duleek. Thomas Bladen	100	0	0
Trym. Jeremy Benton ..	150	0	0
	851	12	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. John Hooke at Drogheda £120.

Mr. Thos. Boshboth at Naule £60.

Mr. Thos. Hicks at Drogheda £100.

PRECINCT OF ATHY.

	£	s.	d.
Kildare. John Cull	100	0	0
Athy. Murdogh M^{c}Kenzy [to preach in Irish]*	80	0	0
Catherlagh [Carlow]. Roger Muckle.....	50	0	0
	230	0	0

PRECINCT OF KILKENNY.

	£	s.	d.
Kilkenny. Wm. Wilsby	150	0	0
Joseph Teat	100	0	0
Callen. John Lilles	120	0	0
Gowran. John Hunt....	100	0	0
Thomastown. John Cocke	100	0	0
Knocktopher. Jn. Handsor	80	0	0
Maryborough. John Boskerville	70	0	0
	720	0	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. Chris. Blackwood in the city of Kilkenny £150.

PRECINCT OF WEXFORD.

	£	s.	d.
Wexford. Robert Hobbs	140	0	0
John Dancer	50	0	0
Rosse. Thos. Osmington	110	0	0
Maglasse. Abr. Walner..	100	0	0
Enniscorthy. Humphry Good	40	0	0
	440	0	0

PRECINCT OF WATERFORD.

	£	s.	d.
Waterford. Edw. Wale	200	0	0
Passage. John Millard ..	100	0	0

* The following extract from the Records of the Privy-council is a further pleasing evidence that preaching in the Irish language was not neglected during the protectorate. "Dublin Castle, March 3, 1656 [-7]. Upon reading the report of Dr. Winter, Dr. Harrison, Mr. Wooton and Mr. Chambers touching Mr. James Carey, and of his fitness and abilities to preach the word both in English and Irish, and upon consideration had thereof, and of the usefulness of gifts in order to the conversion of the poore ignorant natives: It is thought fit and ordered, that the said Mr. Carey doe preach to the Irish at Bride's parish once every Lord's day, and that he doe occasionally repair to Trym and Athy, to preach as aforesaid; and that for his care and pains therein he be allowed the sallary of sixty pounds per annum to be paid quarterly."

	£	s.	d.
Dungarvan. Richd. Fitzgerald [to preach in the Irish tongue] ..	100	0	0
Ivearke. Jn. Brooks, paid as a schoolmaster			
Dungarvan. Andrew Chaplayne	80	0	0
	480	0	0

PRECINCT OF CLONMELL.

	£	s.	d.
Clonmell. Sam. Ladyman	170	0	0
Robert Carre.....	100	0	0
Carrick-on-Suir. Paul Emerott.....	150	0	0
Cashell. Anthony Ward	100	0	0
Thurles. Laurence Castle	100	0	0
Feathard. Doctor Charles Crooke	100	0	0
Henry Watson	40	0	0
John Draper	40	0	0
Cullen. John Bartley ..	100	0	0
	900	0	0

PRECINCT OF CORKE.

	£	s.	d.
Youghall. James Wood	180	0	0
Bandon. Robert Child ..	150	0	0
Kinsale. Edmond Wells	150	0	0
—— Stowell	50	0	0
Corke. Joseph Eyres....	150	0	0
John Coleman	100	0	0
John Newton.....	40	0	0
Tallow. Daniel Burston	120	0	0
Clonekilty. John Hall ..	100	0	0
Moyallow. Nich. Pierse	80	0	0
	1120	0	0

From the List for 1654.
Mr. Matthew Matthews £60

PRECINCT OF KERRY.

	£	s.	d.
John Chambers	100	0	0
Tralee. Simon Rumney..	140	0	0
	240	0	0

From the List for 1654.
Mr. Godly £50.
Mr. Wilson.

PRECINCT OF LYMERICKE.

	£	s.	d.
Lymericke. Claudius Gilbert.....	200	0	0
James Knight	120	0	0
Kilmallocke. Edw. Reynolds	120	0	0
Rathkeele. Jn. Andrews	120	0	0
Ennis. Alexander Young	100	0	0
Seven-Mile-bridge. Robert Thornton	100	0	0
Killaloe. Gawen Berkeley	100	0	0
Newcastle. Robert Leigh	80	0	0
Owen Darragh	50	0	0
	990	0	0

PRECINCT OF ATHLONE.

	£	s.	d.
Mullingar. Ran. Adams	150	0	0
Richard Blackburne ..	100	0	0
Birre. Charles Chandler	100	0	0
Philipstown. Marmaduke Clapham	100	0	0
Ballymore. Robert Fullerton	100	0	0
William Portman	50	0	0
Roscommon. Thomas Crofton	50	0	0
Ballynasloe. Thos. Hicks	100	0	0
	750	0	0

PRECINCT OF GALWAY.

	£	s.	d.
Galway. Robert Clerke	160	0	0
Sligo. John Wilkinson..	100	0	0
Ennisbuffin. Mat. Hall..	100	0	0
Portumna. Dudley Pierse	100	0	0
Dromore, &c. Patrick Gamble	80	0	0
Ballymoat. John Lang ..	50	0	0
	590	0	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. Samuel Jones £100.
A preacher at Loughreagh £50.

PRECINCT OF BELTURBET.

Belturbet. Eber Birch ..	80	0	0
Glenauley. Geo. Creighton	60	0	0
Killeshandra. Jas. Lang	50	0	0
William Aldrich.....	50	0	0
	240	0	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. John Read in Belturbet £120

PRECINCT OF BELFAST.

Carrickfergus. Timothy Taylor.....	200	0	0
Belfast. Essex Digby ..	120	0	0
William Dix	120	0	0
Lisnegarvey. And. Wike	150	0	0
Ballymoney. James Kerr	120	0	0
Route. Hugh Vausse....	100	0	0
Dromore [and Lurgan]. Thomas Johnson ..	100	0	0
Billy. Jeremy O'Quin ..	100	0	0
Newry. Thos. Skelson..	100	0	0
Patrick Duncan.....	80	0	0
William Fullerton....	80	0	0
Ballycastle. Daniel Mac Neile	80	0	0
Strangford. Rob. Echlin	80	0	0
Maheralyn. Anthony Buckworth	60	0	
Knock & Breda. William Moore.....	50	0	0
James Watson	50	0	0
Glenavy. John Wallwood	40	0	0
Ballyclare. John Sumerville.....	30	0	0
Hugh Graffan	25	0	0
	1685	0	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. Andrew Law £50.

PRECINCT OF LONDONDERRY.

Coleraine. Thomas Vesey	120	0	0
Derry. George Holland	100	0	0
Ballykelly. Humphrey Leigh	100	0	0
A minister to be presented by the Lord of Anandale	100	0	0
Ray. Hugh Cunningham	80	0	0
James Wallace	80	0	0
Ramelton. Thos. Drummond	80	0	0
Laggan. William Semple	80	0	0
Ballyshannon. Geo. Fercher.....	60	0	0
Robert Lindsey	50	0	0
James Downeham	50	0	0
Faughan. Wm. Lindsey	50	0	0
Clonmany. John Bunbury	50	0	0
William Watson	50	0	0
Strabane. Robert Browne	40	0	0
Robert Young	30	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Faughanvale. Archibald Glasgow	50	0	0
Clondermot. John Wills	60	0	0
	1230	0	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. Samuel Hill, £40.
Mr. Hugh Barkley at Lifford £60.

Total ministers' allowances £12911 5 4

SCHOOLMASTERS IN ULSTER.

	£	s.	d.
Lisnegarvey. Thomas Hasleham	40	0	0
Belfast. John Cornwall..	20	0	0
Carrickfergus. Jn. Smith	20	0	0
Derry. William Crofton	40	0	0
Coleraine. Robert Pierse	40	0	0

From the List for 1654.

Mr. James Blyth at Belfast	20	0	0

Among the Pensioners on the Lists for 1654 and 1655 are the following:—

Arthur and Martha O'Connolly [children of Owen O'Connolly] £52 per annum.

Earl of Antrim £400 per annum.

Dr. John Leslie [bishop of Raphoe] £160.

Dr. Henry Leslie [bishop of Down and Connor] £120.

Dr. Robert Maxwell [bishop of Kilmore] £120.

No. XV.

See Chapter XVI. Note 46, page 317.

Address of the ministers assembled in Dublin to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy, in May, 1658.

[Mus. Brit. MSS. Lansd. No. 1228. fol. 14.]

"To his Excellency the Lord Deputy General of Ireland.

"The humble addresse of the ministers by authority assembled now at Dublin out of the several provinces of Ireland.

"When we reflect on the Egyptian confusion from whence wee are ransomed and the wildernes of difficulties through which wee are carryed to some present sight and expectation of settlement, wee dare not but blesse the Lord for his goodnes, and your excellency, in the name of the Lord, as an eminent instrument in his good hand of Providence, entrusted with power,

instructed with wisdome, inflamed with zeale to appeare for the Lord and his truth, his wayes and worship, his ministers and people. In generall, for all the good you have done and that is in your heart to doe for the house of our God: In speciall, for the occasion and scope of this present convention and those many subservients to the glory of God and good of his people commanded us by your excellency: In particular, for empowering those honourable, wise, and religious personages to endeavour the settlement of our maintenance; wherein they have evidenced such diligence, prudence and zeale for our office, that with thankfulness wee fully consent to their report, as to the modell and scope thereof in the generall. And, in all submission, wee doe become suitors that they may be engaged to compleat the same worke.

"Though this one particuler (wherein your excellency acts as a 'nursing father' to the church of Christ) engageth our duty to blesse the Lord for you, yet the other particulars commanded us by your excellency are as more sublime soe more engaging. The conversion of the papists 'from darkenes to light and from the power of satan unto God;' the healing of breaches that brethren fall not out by the way; the opening the fore-door of ordination and back-door of ejection; the planting truth by catechizing, watering the truth planted by sacraments, and fencing both by discipline; the suppressing of heresy and prophanenes, and promoting of godlines (the summe of the first table), honesty (the summe of the second), and in order to both, the due observance of the fourth commandement in the sanctification of the Lord's day, which is placed in the midst as a ligament to fasten the dutyes of both: 'And all this to be done in the spirit of love and long-suffering, that all such as feare the Lord and desire to serve him in fayth and sobriety might knowe their liberty and see it secured;' wee make bould herein to use these your excellency's own wordes as not being able to devise or desire better.

"These high concernments your excellency was pleased to instance as the grand intendment of the present convention. 'Tis to us as life from the dead. Wee had formerly (almost) said—Ireland's grief is incurable! But blessed be the Lord, and your excellency in name of the Lord, for an harvest of joy in a day of griefe and desperate sorrow. For all which we humbly offer the returne of our thankefullnes, duty and obedience; beseeching the Lord to guide, order and blesse in soe great a service (for which who is sufficient?) the spiritts, debates, resolves, and endeavours of

"Your excellencies most obliged, most reall and most dutifull servants in the ministry of the gospell:

Claudius Gilbert [Limerick]
John Eyres [Cork]
Ezek. Webbe
J. Greg [Newtonards]
Thos. Hall [Larne]
Robt. Hobbs [Wexford]

Thos. Harrison [Dublin]
Edw. Worth [Cork]
Timothie Taylor [Carrickfergus]
Jo. Wilkinson [Sligo]
Thos. Vesey [Coleraine]
Clinton Maunde
Randolph Adams [Mullingar]
Jo. Hart [Taughboyne]
Sam. Ladyman [Clonmell]
R. Easthorpe
Ambr. Jones [Kells]
For the substance of the matter I subscribe to the premises,
Sam. Winter [Dublin]
Soe doe I also,
Edward Wale [Waterford]

N.B. I have annexed the names of the places, so far as I have been able to discover them, where these ministers statedly officiated.

No. XVI.

See Chapter XVIII. Note 3, page 411.

Mrs. Goodall's Memoir of her husband's residence and imprisonment at Armagh. A. D. 1658-71.

[MSS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. 7. 22.]

"A little after my husband and I went to Ireland to dwell, the prelatic party began to thrust out the honest and faithful presbyterian ministers, and to establish the prelates in their room and place. Our second son Sampson was baptized by Mr. Hope Sherid, minister of Armagh where we dwelt, before he was put out of his church. Afterwards when faithful ministers had no liberty to preach publicly, Joseph, our third son, was baptized by Mr. Thomas Kennedy, minister of Dungannon. Our landlord, Sampson Thaker, desired my husband to baptize Joseph with the curate; but he answered, 'I do not belong to their church, and therefore will have nothing ado with abjured prelates.' After that we had two other children baptized with presbyterian ministers.

"They who would not comply with the prelates to hear curates or observe the king's birth-day, Christmas-day, or other superstitious days which they appointed, such persons were warned to the bishop's official court; and when they appeared at the court every man paid a groat, and was not called in question for any thing, until the next year after that they paid a groat at the same court again. But my husband would not answer any of their courts, nor pay them any thing at all. And when Mr. Thaker pleaded earnestly with him to go to the church, desiring him only to go in and come presently out again; and when he refused that, he having a concerned care to excuse my husband at the prelates' hands, he desired him

only to come into the entry without the church-door, that he might say he saw him there and satisfy the prelates with that account. But my husband refused that also, and would not make any show or appearance of complying with them in any thing, for he durst not in conscience mock God and deceive man at that rate. The prelates were so enraged at my husband's zeal that they proceeded against him with the censures of their kirk, when they could not prevail with him neither with their promises nor threatenings. So they excommunicated my husband and other eighteen of the professors of the parish of Armagh, because they came not such a full length as they would have had them, although they answered their courts. Mr. Peden told my husband that by the prelatic excommunication 'he was casten out of the devil's count-book.'

"In process of time the prelates proceeded to greater rigour and imposed the oath of supremacy upon the people, whereby they made the king the head of the church, which very few of the professors complied not with except my husband and his brother and some others. My husband's brother said to my husband when they were discoursing of that sacrilegious supremacy, 'that it seemed they were of the mind to make a God of that man.' My husband continued three years giving testimony against all their superstitions. The behaviour of the most part of the professors dwelling in the country did not come so much under the view and observation of the prelatic party as my husband did, because he dwelt in the town, and some of the most considerable persons of the clergy passed by my husband's door as they went to the church and as they came from it, for it was just in their way: and when they came by [on holydays] he was then sure to make most noise at his work, which made them account him contumacious. However he regarded not their displeasure for his keeping a good conscience.

"He desired an honest man who had his horse a grazing in the country to send him in the horse because he wanted sand; and the man sent in the horse on Christmas-day, not minding what a day it was; and when the horse came he yoked him with a sled that same day and sent a man with him who brought him two sledfulls of sand. Both papists and prelates have such a respect for that day that few will adventure to work on Christmas day. The honest man was greatly molested that brought the sand; but being an old man, they dealt not so rudely with him as they would have done otherwise. However this so incensed the prelates against my husband that one of the chief men of the town, called captain Cope, who was son-in-law to the dean of their church, said that he cared not for eating until he got amends of Mr. Goodall. He could not eat his dinner peaceably without venting his anger against my husband. So he and some others employed a curate * to go to Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, for a war-

* By a note at the end of the MS. it appears that this person was Mr. Peper, 'curate at Lough-gall, four miles from Armagh.'

rant to apprehend my husband and put him in prison. The curate went to Dublin, which was three score miles distant from Armagh, and laid down five pounds sterling upon the green table unto such as had power to give the warrant which they call a 'capias,' with which he came to the sheriff of Armagh, and at the sheriff's door was in such haste to have my husband apprehended that he would needs continue on horseback; and so bowing himself down to whisper into the sheriff's ear that he had got a 'capias,' and had there two officers with him to apprehend Mr. Goodall, his horse gave him such a knock upon the breast that he cried out he had gotten his death-stroke, and presently he had such a conviction of the iniquity of the business he was about that he said, 'this will not do, this work will not work!' and acknowledged it was for Mr. Goodall's sake he had gotten his dead-stroke.

"However the officers are sent for my husband, and coming into our house to the fire-side, (where my husband was sitting with Mr. Maxwell, the laird of Moncrieff in Galloway, who was but newly come to visit us,) said to him, 'Mr. Goodall, you are the king's prisoner.' My husband went hastily with them and whispered into my ear, 'My dear, dispatch Mr. Maxwell out of our house lest he be sent for next!' So my husband was imprisoned, and Mr. Maxwell got safely escaped into the country.* But the curate went home and immediately took his bed, and fell into a raging fever and raved continually, and scarce spake a sensible word till he died, excepting only that he commanded his wife expressly not to exact the five pounds sterling from my husband, nor to put him to pay it at all; which by their law he was obliged to pay whenever he was liberated out of prison: And this his wife faithfully promised to do and performed it likewise; and when she came to my husband she sadly regretted her husband's having any hand in his imprisonment. When the sheriff went in to write the warrant (for besides the 'capias' they behoved to have the sheriff's warrant) the curate told the two officers that his horse's head had given him his dead-stroke, &c. So when he got the sheriff's warrant he came

* This person was Mr. John Maxwell the younger, of Monreith. He had been at the battle of Pentland, for which his property was forfeited and himself outlawed; and in 1667 he took refuge in Ireland, in company with Mr. James Kirko, of Sundaywell, in Dumfriesshire, and the Rev. Gabriel Semple, the ejected minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham, in the presbytery of Dumfries. M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, pp. 49. 400. Mr. Semple in his Memoirs, an unpublished MS. in possession of the Rev. Dr. Lee, Edinburgh, gives (page 49) the following brief account of their visit to Ireland. "A year after Pentland, I went to Ireland with worthy Monerieff and Sundaywell, two as serious, tender, and public-spirited christians as I have known. Monerieff died there of a tympany [dropsy]. I was with him at Dublin where he first took his distemper, and in the north when he came to Benburb, where Mr. Archibald Hamilton lived, where he died.—The ministers and professors in Ireland were very kind to the exiled from Scotland."

presently riding to Armagh with the two officers, and apprehended my husband and put him in prison. He kept the matter so secret that he could not first ride home to his own house, which was four miles from Armagh, lest any should have got intelligence of his design, who would have warned my husband to have gone out of the way. My husband was so well beloved that if any of his neighbours had known it, they would have told it to my husband. Well, the curate went home, and in his raging fever died within a fortnight. In his raving he would have said, ' I am primate of Armagh, now I will take Mr. Goodall out of prison.' It was remarkable that his chief discourse was about his imprisoning and getting out of my husband again.

" The gentlewoman, Mrs. Oath, who kept the prison, was a widow, yet had such respect to my husband, that when a rich citizen of Armagh offered her a bond to let Mr. Goodall go lie at his own house, she said she preferred Mr. Goodall's own word to any bond whatsoever, and would have no bond but his own word; and so she suffered him to go home at night and lie in his own house; and for the fashion for a few days sent a man with him at night and for him in the morning. And that night our ordinary place of singing happened to be in the 109th psalm, verse 6th, my husband and I had such a lively frame of spirit in the time of the singing of the psalm, that we both marvelled at it, but understood not what it meant; until within a day or two after, when we heard that the curate was deadly sick of a raging fever, so we understood it to be applicable to him; and when we were told of the curate's sickness we both protested that we blessed the Lord we had no prejudice or ill-will against his person. All the while my husband was in prison he did not lie a night out of his own house except only two, and he was in prison three years and six weeks. He was like a Joseph in the prison, the gentlewoman the gaoler was admirably favourable and discreet to him; for when he got notice of a sermon or a sacrament that was to be ten or twelve miles, or however far from Armagh, when he had said, ' Mrs. Oath, I am going to a sermon some miles,' he had full liberty from her. Now, ministers durst neither preach nor give the communion in the day-time, but in the night; and people then found no hurt by wanting their sleep at such occasions. One day, when my husband was riding with his brother and some others to a sermon six miles from Armagh, a friend of Mr. Cope's met him, and attempted to bring him back prisoner, in order to affront Mrs. Oath the gaoler. But he, being defeated in that design, went to the sheriff and reported he saw my husband on horseback. Whereupon the sheriff came to Armagh to examine Mrs. Oath; but she courageously defended herself thus, ' None have any thing to say to me for managing my prisoner, if I, when any court calls for Mr. Goodall, can present him before them;' which she said she was sure she could do with her prisoner. So the sheriff could not thrust her out of her charge.

"There were also five* presbyterian ministers imprisoned at Dublin, where they continued five years prisoners, but were at last liberated by an order from the king, which Sir Arthur Forbes, deputy of Ireland, procured them. Two of these ministers, who were taken in Lifford in Ireland because they would not desist from preaching,—when they returned home passing through the town of Armagh, and hearing that my husband was in prison they visited him; and one of them, Mr. Hart, told him he was to go to Dublin the next summer, which was half-a-year after that day, and would speak to Sir Arthur Forbes to procure a liberty for him also; which he did according to his promise, and when the deputy went to London he brought an order from the king to get all out of prison that were imprisoned on the account of religion. There were none in prison in Ireland at that time for religion but my husband and another honest man in the county of Antrim, who were both set at liberty without any sinful obligations, or any thing imposed on their consciences at all: and in like manner were the five ministers at Dublin set at liberty.

"My husband came afterwards to Scotland in the year 1676."

No. XIX.

See Chapter XVIII. Note 50, page 424.

[MSS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Wod. MSS. 4to. 75. Rob. III. 4. 17. art. 18.]

"Some short account of the trouble that Messrs. William Trail, James Alexander, Robert Campbell and John Hart, ministers in the Lagan in the north of Ireland, met with upon account of a fast appointed by the presbyterial meeting in that bounds.

"Upon the second of February 1681, the meeting of the presbyterian ministers in the Lagan met at St. Johnston, which was the ordinary place of meeting, and considering the providences of God towards his church and people in Britain and Ireland, they judged it their duty to call the people under their inspection to humiliation, prayer and fasting, and appointed the 17th of that month to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and drew up a paper called the Causes of the said Fast.

* There are a few very slight inaccuracies here, not surprising, when it is recollected that Mrs. Goodall wrote this account above twenty years afterwards, and that, even at the time, she could not be expected to be very minutely acquainted with the particulars. There were four ministers imprisoned at Lifford, not at Dublin, though they were taken up there in order to be liberated; and Sir Arthur Forbes was not lord deputy when he procured the order alluded to, but one of the lords justices.

" On Friday the 18th of March thereafter the assizes at Lifford, in which parish Mr. Trail had his meeting-house, they were speaking of indicting the said Mr. Trail for a letter he had written to one Mr. Robert Simpson, the contents of which letter I cannot learn any more of than what is afterwards narrated by Mr. Trail himself in his account of his examination before the committee of the council. But they thought fit to let it alone, and there is nothing further found of this among Mr. Trail's papers. On the seventh of April that same year there was a rendezvous made of some companies of soldiers that lay in that country-side, and the oath of supremacy was put both to officers and soldiers; and severals did refuse, and particularly one captain Barclay, who also kept it off all his company; and for this, severals of them were put in prison. And when Mr. Trail, on Tuesday the twelfth of that month, was visiting some of these that were put in prison for their refusing the foresaid oath, the justices of the peace of the town of Lifford sent a constable for him and convened him before them; where upon his appearing his *mittimus* to prison, which was ready written, was publickly read, and he was obliged to find bail to appear at the next assizes and be of the good behaviour till then. It seems they suspected he had some hand in obliging some to refuse the oath of supremacy when it was put to them; but this was groundless as will be seen by his answers before the council at Dublin.

" Upon the last of April Mr. John Hart was called before five justices of the peace at St. Johnston, and questioned anent the ' Causes of the Fast' in February last, but he craved time to answer because others were also concerned. And upon this he by letters called a meeting of the brethren upon Monday May the second; and when Mr. Trail came there that day, hearing the justices had been calling for the presbytery-book, he rode back to his own house and put it out of the way, and found there a letter waiting him requiring him to attend a meeting of the justices of the peace the next day at Raphoe. And accordingly the next day he went to Raphoe, and the justices there present were Sir William Stewart, Gray Bingley the high sheriff, captain Nesbitt, Hugh Hamil, John Forward, and Michael Sampson. They either had or pretended to have a commission for what they did from the lord lieutenant. And here Mr. Trail and the other three ministers did confess and subscribe their accession to the drawing up of the causes of the fast formerly mentioned, and that they had kept the fast on the day appointed; and then they were let go home. Upon the eighth and ninth of June thereafter, four of the ministers of that bounds received summons to appear within eight days after the date thereof before the lord lieutenant and council at Dublin. These that were summoned were Mr. John Hart, Mr. James Alexander, Mr. Robert Campbell, and Mr. William Trail; who presently put themselves in order for their journey and arrived at Dublin upon the sixteenth of June. They stayed there some days till Monday the

twentieth of that month, when Mr. John Hart and Mr. William Trail were examined, each of them for about half an hour or some more, before the lord lieutenant and council met in the castle of Dublin. I cannot learn what the rest of the ministers were examined upon; but here is subjoined a distinct account of Mr. Trail's examination taken from his own papers.

"First day's Examination.

"The examination of William Trail before his grace the lord lieutenant, and the most honourable privy council of Ireland at Dublin castle, June 20, 1681.

"Ld. Lt. Are you Mr. Trail? W. T. Yes.—Here one of the lords said to the examinant, Be not afraid, be not surprised. W. T. I am not, for why should I? L. L. I shall begin without much preamble with you; was you at that meeting at St. Johnston where the causes of your late fast were drawn up? W. T. Yes. L. L. Who was with you there? W. T. I am not free to declare that, neither can I punctually remember. I confess my own accession to it, but I am not clear to tell of others to bring them into trouble. L. L. By what authority did you appoint that fast? W. T. We conceived that God was by his providence calling us to fast and pray; and a little before that the king had proclaimed a fast in England. L. L. How knew you that? W. T. We saw the proclamation in the public London Gazette. L. L. Did you preach a sermon before that fast, and did you enjoin the people to abstain from their labours on that day? W. T. I did preach on the Lord's day before that fast, but whether I did desire the people to abstain from their labours I do not remember that nor can I well tell; but it's like I did not, for there was no need of it, and fasts being no strange things with us the people know that abstinence from their ordinary labours doth belong to their keeping of a fast; and they commonly and generally abstain from their labours on fasting days. L. L. Then it is a thing that follows of course upon your fasting days. W. T. Yes. Besides I am informed that non-conformists of divers persuasions in this city did keep the same fasts about the same time. L. L. Was it so?—Here some of the lords of the council, sitting at the table, did affirm it to have been as the examinant had said.—L. L. Did you send orders from your meeting to others to keep that fast? W. T. We have meetings for consultation, and when any thing is done or resolved upon amongst us we use to send advertisement of it to these that were absent to let them know what is done. L. L. Have you not a clerk? W. T. We have not a fixed constant clerk, but sometimes one and sometimes another is employed to take a note of these things that are done among us, and I am as often employed as another. Chancellor or Primate*. Where is your book or papers wherein your

* This was Dr. Michael Boyle, who was removed from Dublin to Armagh in 1678, and who held the office of lord chancellor from 1663 till the accession of James II. He was a noted pluralist, having, at one time held *three* bishopricks and *six* parishes. Stuart's Armagh, p. 389.

records are, and who has them in keeping? W. T. I know not, they are not in my custody. CHAN. In whose keeping were they then when you appointed that fast? W. T. They were then in my keeping. CHAN. Well, mark that!

"CHAN. What do you mean in these causes of your fast (here he produced a copy of the Causes of the Fast) by apostacy, and perjury, and breach of our solemn covenants and vows? W. T. The breach of all our lawful vows and covenants, which are many; for we come under vows and covenants at baptism and at our partaking of the Lord's supper, and upon other occasions. CHAN. Whom do you mean by the antichristian party, when you say in the causes of your fast that we are in danger of a massacre by the antichristian party? W. T. By the antichristian party we mean the popish party. CHAN. But do you mean none other but only the popish party by the antichristian party?—At this question the examinant kept silence, being loath, as it seems, to answer: and then the chancellor proceeded to the next question.—CHAN. Have you read the solemn league and covenant? W. T. Yes, I have read it, though I never took it. CHAN. Doth not that call others the antichristian party, than the papists? W. T. I do not remember that there is any expression in the covenant which calls the prelatical party the antichristian party. CHAN. What say you then to your own letter to Mr. Simpson? Doth not that call others the antichristian party than papists? Would you know your own hand-write?—And here he produced that missive letter. W. T. I acknowledge I wrote some such letter as that, and it is like that is mine; but the man that would be so base as to betray my private letter might also vitiate it, and I have no copy of it. L. L. Take it and look upon it, and see whether it be so or not, and if there be any underlining in it. W. T. It is needless.—Then the chancellor caused the clerk of the council to read the letter in open hearing. W. T. Now there is no expression in that letter calling the prelatical party the antichristian party. There is indeed something there reflecting upon some of the churchmen, but nothing against the government of church or state. Your grace (directing his speech to the lord lieutenant) knows *theologorum odia*, and that we use to be somewhat sharp in our arguing one with another: and it is little wonder considering what hard measure we meet with from our antagonists. L. L. Sure I am there has no hardship been put upon your party now of a long time. W. T. If I were purged of this I am accused of, and had the place of an accuser I could show unto your grace several hardships that have been lately put upon us. There is one mentioned in that letter even now read, and there was another lately put upon me, although I desire not to mention any man's name, nor to bring any man into trouble. I was sent to prison, my *mittimus* was written and read to me before some justices, and I was upon bail bound over to the next assizes for no fault, but merely for going into the jail to see some prisoners. L. L. But for what fault were

they put in? W. T. For refusing the oath of supremacy. L. L. So. W. T. But I spake nothing that did give offence, and I went in in company with one of the commissioners of array, and I said nothing that could be quarrelled at that time.

"CHAN. Do you think it lawful to take an oath before the magistrate? W. T. I think it not only lawful but duty to take an oath before the magistrate, when called to it. L. L. Why then did you refuse to swear at Raphoe? W. T. Because it was an unlawful oath that was then put to me, which I was not clear to swear. L. L. What oath was it? W. T. That I should make full and true answer to all questions that should be demanded of me. L. L. You did well to refuse that oath. CHAN. Did you compose or frame an oath to be taken by the people in the place of the oath of supremacy? W. T. I never composed any oath. I know that that is a matter of very great consequence, nor did I ever desire any person to take any oath. L. L. Did you ever take the oath of supremacy? W. T. No. I was never put to it. L. L. Did you dissuade any from taking it? W.T. No; for aught I know or can remember; nor had I occasion of so doing. There was only one gentleman in the parish who spoke to me about it, and I said to him that in a matter that was like to bring him to suffering he behoved to walk by his own light, and to have clearness in his own mind; and I gave him no other advice in the case, nor was I willing at that time to advise him. Sir John Keating, lord chief justice of the common pleas, said, But, Mr. Trail, seeing you pretend to have the charge of their souls, how could you refuse to give them advice, when they came to ask it of you? W. T. There was no need of much advice at that time, for the gentleman had, the day before, refused the oath; and after he had refused the oath was dismissed by the justices and commissioners of array at Raphoe, upon his parole to return to them the next day; and he was going back again to Raphoe, and in the way accidently met with me. But he came not on errand to ask my advice. L. L. But will you now take the oath of supremacy? W. T. I am not free to take it. But to let your grace see that I have no very great abhorrency of that oath, I do acknowledge that it's capable of a sound sense, and that there is a sound sense put upon it by law, and that the XXXVII. article of the church of England and several acts of parliament have put a sound sense upon it, and that the LVIII. article of the confession of Ireland doth put a sound sense upon it, and Doctor Ussher's sense of it is also sound: all which I acknowledge. L. L. Why then do you not take it, for I never took it in another sense? W. T. Because I think it were a juggling with the king and much more with God to take an oath that is capable of a sound sense, and yet to keep that sound sense in my mind. But let the sense be written down together with the oath plainly, and this will clear the matter. The LVIII. article of Ireland has the very words of the oath of supremacy, and the sense of them immediately subjoined.—Here the examinant produced a printed copy of the

articles of Ireland, which the Earl of Drogheda took out of his hand, and read the LVIII. article * before the council; and then the examinant said:—And I am free to subscribe that article and all the rest of the articles of that confession.—And as the examinant saw divers of the lords of council looking upon that copy of the articles of Ireland which he had delivered, and taking notice of the title-page and the year of its being printed, viz. 1681; he said further—I have seen these articles printed of an older edition. You need not stand upon the edition. I bought that but the other day since I came to town; but it is the same with the older editions.—And while divers were looking upon that copy of the Irish articles which he had presented, and were handing it about from one to another, he said—I hope your grace and this honourable board will pardon and excuse my freedom and boldness in speaking, if I speak not with that reverence and respect that is due, I hope the candour of this honourable board is such as not to construe amiss of my boldness. L. L. (smiling) I like you very well, Mr. Trail, you may speak what you please. CHAN. But do you acknowledge the king's supremacy? W. T. Yes. CHAN. But do you acknowledge the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters? W. T. Yes. We allow unto the king a supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. CHAN. But do you acknowledge that the king has power to establish the ecclesiastical government? W. T. Yes, and that we do too. But I will deal ingenuously with your grace—still directing his face and speech to the lord lieutenant, as he had done all along—I do not believe that the king has power to set up what government he pleases in the church; but that he has power to set up the due and true government of the church. CHAN. O then, all this is nothing; for who shall be judge of the true government? W. T. May it please your grace—speaking always to the lord lieutenant whose face was towards him, but the chancellor sat with his back to the examinant—there is no difference betwixt us and the prelatical party as to the king's power. We are herein as full in asserting of the king's power as they are, for many of them hold their government to be *jure divino* as we hold ours; so that the difference is not about the king's power, but his setting up of the one government or the other. L. L. All the difference then is, that when the king sets up the one government you say he is in the right; and when he sets up the other, they say he is in the right. Is not this it? W. T.

* The following is a copy of this article. "We do profess that the supreme government of all estates within the said realms and dominions in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, doth of right appertain to the king's highness. Neither do we give unto him hereby the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keyes; but that prerogative only which we see to have been always given unto all godly princes in holy scripture by God himself; that is, that he should contain all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, within their duty, and restrain the stubborn and evil-doers with the power of the civil sword." Art. of Irel. Lond. 4to. 1629.

That same is what I would say, if it please your grace.—Here the lord lieutenant and the whole table fell a laughing, and the examinant finding himself somewhat warm in his replies did again with success crave pardon for his boldness and freedom of speech, and appealed again to the candour of that honourable board. CHAN. But you make resistance. W. T. We make no resistance. CHAN. But you can or may make resistance. W. T. A man may go mad.—Here again the board fell a laughing. CHAN. But you say it's lawful to make resistance. Were not Calvin and Knox brave men; what say you to them? W. T. Whatever the men were we do not hold ourselves bound to adhere to every thing they said. The best of men may have their errors; particularly Calvin was too lax in the matter of the Sabbath. CHAN. But is it not lawful to make resistance? W. T. May it please your grace—always speaking to the lord lieutenant—this is hard to put such a mean subject as I am and a man of my coat so to it, to answer such questions, which must be determined by judges and lawyers how far it is permittable by law, and according to the covenant betwixt the king and the people. Then the lord lieutenant dismissed Mr. Trail, and after a little space he was called in again and asked whether he had said that he could subscribe all the articles of Ireland, to which he answered affirmatively. Hereupon one of the lords of council said to the rest,—Then he will do it seeing he had said it. And so he was again dismissed.

" N.B. The rumour of Mr. Trail's offering to subscribe the confession of Ireland flew through the town of Dublin before he was dismissed from the council, and raised such a curiosity in all that heard of it to know that confession better, that every body ran to buy them so fast that against nine o'clock at night there was not a copy of them to be found in any stationer's shop in Dublin: and the prelatical clergy in Ireland were much ashamed of it that a dissenter should offer to subscribe their confession.

" Second day's Examination.

" The examination of William Trail before a committee of his majesty's most honourable privy council, in the kingdom of Ireland, at Dublin, in the council chamber, June 22nd, 1681. The archbishop of Dublin, president:—

" ABP. Were you at that meeting at St. Johnston, where the causes of the fast were drawn up? W. T. Yes. ABP. Who was with you? W. T. I am not free to tell, nor do I punctually remember. ABP. Did you observe that fast? W. T. Yes. ABP. By what authority did you appoint that fast? W. T. We did it at the call of God and his providence; part of which providence was the king's declaration which we saw in the public Gazette, at the desire of the parliament, enjoining a fast in England. ABP. But that declaration did not reach us in Ireland. W. T. Then we gave a superabounding obedience. ABP. Did you enjoin that fast unto the people? W. T. No. But we tell them that we think it is the will of God that they

should fast and pray, and set a day apart for the public and joint performance and exercise of this great duty; and we exhort them to it, and they voluntarily come. We use to forbear all words of power and authority: whatever authority we may claim as ministers of the gospel, we commonly waive that. And as Paul said to Philemon, 'Whereas I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee;' so we, whatever power we have as ministers to command, yet for prudence sake we rather beseech. Beside we claim no other power but what your own confession of faith allows to the ministers of the gospel, viz. the authority of the keys. ABP. But we, although we do not give unto the king the power of the keys or power to preach and administer the sacraments; yet we do not take upon us to appoint a fast without him. W. T. You cannot so well do it as we; for it would be an encroachment upon the king's authority for you to appoint a fast, because what you do of that kind you do it by authority and command. But it is not so with us. ABP. That is to say, that we are under authority, and you are under none. W. T. Not so. But you, in your appointing of fasts, authoritatively command and enjoin them, and we only beseech the people, and so we do not encroach upon the king's authority. ABP. Has the king the only power of appointing fasts and enjoining them? W. T. That the king has power to appoint fasts we do not deny, but acknowledge: yet every man has power to appoint a fast to himself, and a master of a family to his family, and so every society within itself. I grant I see not how a national fast can be well kept over a whole kingdom or nation without the consent of the supreme magistrate, but his consent is not so needful for a fast in a corner. ABP. But yours was a public fast and not in a corner. W. T. What is the Lagan there—looking to a great map of Ireland that was hanging at the back of the table—but a small corner of the king's dominions. We gave evidence of our owning and acknowledging the magistrate's power to appoint and enjoin public fasts, for we observed the fast appointed by authority in May, 1679, though divers of the conform clergy observed it not, because they got not the printed brief about it timeously sent them from Dublin. But to determine punctually how far the king's power goes in this matter of fasts, and how far the church's power goes, and to set the limits of these, I cannot, for I am but a young man, and since I entered into the ministry, we have not had the free exercise of discipline, and so I have had little occasion to be well acquainted with these controversies. ABP. How long is it since you came to Ireland? W. T. Ten years. But as to the nature of a fast we do not make the time holy when we keep a fast, but the day is our own when the fast is over. But it is not so on the Lord's day for that is holy. The time is holy; and the worship waits upon the time; but in our fasts the time waits upon the worship. ABP. It is even so on the Lord's day, and it's all one. The time is no more holy upon the Lord's day than upon a fast day. W. T. If this were a fit place for dispute I would endeavour to prove the contrary. ABP. We will not dis-

pute. W. T. I desire it may be remembered that whereas I did the other night before the council offer to subscribe all the articles of the confession of faith of Ireland, 1615, that I understood the LXXVII. article or paragraph of circumstantial, not of doctrinal, ceremonies; and this I declare before this honourable board, lest I should be mistaken or misunderstood. ABP. You need not fear nor trouble yourself about that, for you shall not be put to subscribe that confession.

"ABP. What mean you in the causes of your fast by 'apostacy and perjury in the breach of our religious covenants and vows?' W. T. I mean the breach of all our religious covenants, in as far as they are lawful. The reason why I say, in as far as they are lawful, is, because our covenants being but forms or draughts of human contrivance, cannot be altogether perfect and may readily have some σφαλμα and some tokens of human infirmity and imperfection in them. ABP. Whom do you mean by the antichristian party in the Causes of the Fast? W. T. By the antichristian party we mean always the popish party. ABP. Only the popish party? W. T. I say, always the popish party. ABP. Have you presbyteries? W. T. We have meetings for consultation, but we use not commonly to call them presbyteries. ABP. Have you a clerk, and who writes your orders? W. T. Sometimes one and sometimes another is appointed to take a note of what is agreed or resolved upon; but we call not these things orders. We forbear all such words of authority. What is written is rather an historical record of what passes among us than any thing else; and we have no fixed and constant clerk. ABP. Did you ever take the oath of supremacy? W. T. No. It was never put to me. ABP. Will you take it now? W. T. Not as it stands; but with the sense of it as it is explained by the XXXVII. article of England, and the LVIII. of Ireland, and Dr. Ussher's speech in the Star-chamber, I agree unto. Besides—said he smiling—I lie under the punishment imposed by law for refusing the oath of supremacy. Then one of the committee said—What is that? W. T. I want all preferment. LORD LANESBOROUGH. But would you take it if they would give you a good benefice? W. T. No, my Lord, I have not said that yet. I am content to be as I am without that. ABP. Did you dissuade any from taking the oath of supremacy? W. T. No. Neither had I occasion for it. ABP. Was you at that great meeting at Donoughmore that was continued from Thursday, June 2nd to Monday June 6th? W. T. That was no great meeting, but such as we have usually at communions. Neither was it continued from Thursday till Monday. There was a fast indeed on the Thursday, as we commonly use to have in such cases. ABP. Was you there? W. T. Yes. I did preach at the fast and on the Lord's day evening. ABP. Within or without? W. T. Within doors. ABP. Who called you thither? W. T. The minister of the place. We are not so weary of being at home, as to go to a neighbouring congregation without a call.

"ABP. Do you use to ride through the country with arms, sword and pistols? W. T. (smiling said) I came to Dublin without a sword. There

s neither sword nor gun about my house. I think I am one of the greatest cowards in his majesty's dominions, and that they are all fools that fight. Lord Lanesborough. What say you to them that must live by it? W. T. I am no anabaptist. I think it lawful for a christian under the New Testament to be a soldier, and also to kill men in a good quarrel. But I was speaking as to myself and my own inclination.—The examinant could never look upon blood, neither his own nor others', without falling into a swoon at the sight. Abp. Do you know that Mr. Inett is minister of Lifford? W. T. I know that he is the regular incumbent of Lifford. Abp. Do you know or believe that the bishops of England have deserted or betrayed the protestant interest? W. T. I do not know that they have done so. There is some expression like that in that sorry and pitiful letter to Mr. Robert Simpson; but I suppose it is not plainly asserted, but hinted at by way of doubt or surmise, or with *it seems*, or some such extenuating word. But I will not justify that letter. It was written in haste on a Saturday morning when I had something else to think upon; and it was written but upon the eighth part of a sheet of paper, and that of a small volume. Sir William Stewart. Then if you acknowledge a fault in it, we will make no more of it. Lord Granard. It was a foolish letter. W. T. Whatever folly or rashness was in writing of it, there was a baseness in betraying of it. But I am often disappointed in my charity to some men. Besides, if you please, I can presently produce some of Mr. Simpson's letters to me, after that of mine to him, wherein he shows that the bishop of Raphoe was satisfied with my ingenuity [ingenuousness] in my vindication of that letter. Abp. There is no need to produce these letters.

"Abp. Do you know of any design of a foreign invasion upon the kingdom of Ireland?—The archbishop did read this question again and again before the examinant gave any answer. W. T. I know of none but what I have discovered. Lord Lanesborough. What have you discovered? W. T. I was one of three who did by letter discover to the government some design of foreigners upon this kingdom of Ireland. The letter was directed to my lord Granard, who is here present and can declare it, although I never spoke with him in my life, nor did I ever see him till the other night that I saw him at the council-table. Lord Granard. I do not remember. W. T. I will put your lordship in mind of it. That letter was written on the tenth of August, 1677, near four years ago, and more than a twelvemonth before Dr. Oates opened his mouth in England to discover the plot. Sir W. Stewart. That was before my lord lieutenant came over. W. T. No. This same lord lieutenant was here then, and it was soon after his coming over to the government. L. Granard. Was that Mr. Taylor's business? W. T. Yes, my lord, the same. L. Granard. O now I remember it, and he got ten guineas from my lord lieutenant. W. T. He did so, my lord. I will not say what influence it might have had upon the state; but sure I am it was a most wicked and dangerous trepan for us. We were offered the aid and assistance of French protestants, as they called them, and am-

munition, arms and money from abroad—yea, the consent and assistance of our own king, if we would make a party and concur to pull down the prelates. The wicked contrivers of that design knew very well that we would hearken to nothing wherein the king was concerned without his own consent, therefore that also was offered to us. Yet if we had but kept it up a little while, we had been guilty. And it was late about eleven o'clock at night when it was revealed to us; and the first thing we did next morning, after a sleep and prayer, was to discover it by writing a letter by the post to lord Granard, and I appeal to your lordship's memory. L. GRANARD. There was something of it. Captain Rutherford denied some of these things which Mr. Taylor said, and he had discovered something of it to the secretary in England. W. T. I wrote that letter and with other two of my brethren subscribed it; and I have the only copy of it extant beside the principal copy that was sent to lord Granard. L. GRANARD. I know where that is. W. T. And I never gave a copy of it to any, but we kept it up for a long time, even from our brethren. L. LANESBOROUGH. Have you that letter here? Where is it? W. T. I have it here. L. LANESBOROUGH. Let us see it. W. T. It's in short hand, but I shall read it to your lordships presently—Here the examinant took out his letter-case and produced that letter, and read it openly and audibly, as it is here entered, together with the subscribers' names.

"My lord, may it please your lordship. One Mr. James Taylor, a faithful and godly minister in the county of Fermanagh living within two miles of Inniskilling and one of our number,* having revealed unto him a matter of very dangerous consequence to his majesty's government, if real, and being but a stranger unacquainted with the law in this country, and not knowing what might be the fittest way to discover the same; yea was in doubt whether to disclose it to any person or not, supposing it might be altogether a fiction; he could not be at rest, being a very faithful subject, till he yesternight, (and we can declare upon oath that it was no sooner discovered unto us) acquainted and had the advice of us, the underscribers, what was fit for him to do in the case. Whereupon we, having heard what was discovered unto him, we could hardly judge it any thing else but a mere romance; yet if it should fall out otherwise (which God forbid) and be found true, it would

* The Rev. James Tailzeor, as the name was then spelled, came from Scotland in May 1675 with recommendatory letters from the Rev. Thomas Hogg of Kiltearn in the North of Scotland. In August following he received a call from the people of Monea, Enniskillen and Derryvallen to be their minister, promising him £40 per annum, and he was accordingly ordained to this charge by the presbytery of Lagan on the 14th of September, 1675. In April 1679 he was imprisoned at Enniskillen and fined £5 on pretence of his wanting a written certificate of his being an ordained minister. In July 1680, I find the presbytery, in consequence of complaints from his people of his frequent absence, "discharging him from meddling any more with the practice of physic or medicine." What afterwards became of him I have not ascertained; but in 1688, the Rev. Robert Kelso, formerly minister at Wicklow, was minister of this charge at Enniskillen.

prove very prejudicial to his majesty's interest and government, and to the peace of his kingdoms; seeing there was no less surmised to our foresaid brother, by a gentleman who sometimes was a captain abroad, than heading of a party to be furnished with money and ammunition from foreign parts. And, therefore, in conscience of our duty, as faithful subjects, christians and ministers, we could not but forthwith discover it unto your lordship; and as we have not imparted it to any, so we judged it convenient not to communicate it to any but unto your lordship, that if your lordship see it expedient you may send to Inniskilling for the said Mr. Taylor, who will be ready at your lordship's call to reveal all unto your lordship that was revealed unto him. He was willing to have come instantly unto your lordship, but was advised rather to wait your lordship's commandment, not knowing but the whole business may prove fabulous, and being therefore unwilling to make any noise about it; especially seeing (as the matter was reported to him) he could apprehend no hazard of any sudden disturbance. Thus commending your lordship to the grace of God, we rest, my lord,

"Your lordship's humble servants.

"Taboin, August 10, 1677. John Hart, Robt. Craighead, W. Trail."

"L. Lanesborough,—hearing Mr. Hart's name read as one of the subscribers of that letter, said—is that this Hart that is here? W. T. The same, my lord.—Then the lords called for a sight of the paper, which the examinant did give out of his hand unto them; and they handed it about from one to another but could not read it, and so delivered it again to the examinant.—L. Lanesborough. Transcribe it and give us in a copy of it. W. T. I shall do so, my Lord; and I am content it be compared with the principal copy which was sent some years ago to our governors, that you may see whether it be not the very same with the subscribed copy, and that they agree perfectly, and if you please I shall give in this short-hand copy also. I hope this honourable board will excuse me for discovering this business at this time; I was constrained to it by the question that was put to me about a foreign invasion. Sir W. Stewart. You have done yourself a piece of good service in so doing. W. T. I was tempted almost to discover it lately when I was examined at Raphoe. For your honour—directing his speech to Sir William who had spoken last—may remember that when I was asked there, who were with me at the drawing up of the Causes of the Fast, I refused to tell and said, I was not free to tell; and captain Nesbitt said, 'What if your brother were hatching a rebellion against the king would you not tell?' and I replied that in that case I would tell as soon as any man: and then I had almost told this that I have now discovered. But I thought it was not meet to discover it before a meeting of justices. L. Lanesborough. You did well in that. You have now reserved it to the proper place, and it deserves thanks. W. T. What we did in this discovery I think we did it not only from a principle of conscience and duty to the king's majesty, but also of interest; as not hoping it will be so well with

us under the government of any as his present majesty.—Then the examinant was dismissed, and as he was leaving the room he said,—I would entreat this honourable board to believe that we are loyal subjects, and that if we have erred in point of loyalty it was not out of design but mistake. L. Lanesborough. I believe that of you, Mr. Trail.

" After the examinations of the said four ministers were over, they are upon Monday the 27th of the same month by the council referred to the assizes at Lifford; and the first of July they wait upon Sir William Davis, lord chief justice of the king's bench, who took their recognizance that they should appear at next assizes at Lifford; and he gave them a certificate for which they paid 6*s*. 8*d*. sterling, and 12*s*. sterling more to the clerks for their recognizances, and were obliged to find bail. And so they went home; and on Monday the 8th of August, the said four ministers waited upon the assizes to which they were bound over by the council. And upon Wednesday the 10th of that month, the grand jury found the bill against them valid; and after the petty jury (which was packed against them on purpose) had given in their verdict, they were fined by judge Osborne or sergeant Osborne £20 sterling each for appointing and keeping a fast. They were also appointed to take the bonds of behaviour, or then to remain prisoners in Lifford; which, after they had thought upon it and advised with friends, they chose rather to do; and the next day being the 11th of August they gave up themselves prisoners, resolving to continue prisoners rather than take the bonds of behaviour, or engage to pay their fine. During the time of their imprisonment, which was allowed them in a house in the town or in the castle, they always preached every lord's day by turns. But sometimes their hearers were driven away; and particularly on the 8th of October, 1681, a gentleman's servant, as he was going to hear the prisoners, was apprehended by the officers of the town, and bid go to church, and because he would not he was put in the stocks.

" Their imprisonment continued till the 20th of April, 1682, [above eight months] when they were dismissed by the Sheriff upon giving bonds to keep the Sheriff harmless of their fines in case he should be called in question. During the time of their imprisonment they applied several times by petition to the council of Dublin and court of Exchequer for having their fines remitted or modified, without any success. But at last on the 25th of July, after they were liberated, they got, by order of the court of exchequer, their fines reduced from £20 to 20*s*.; only each paid to the clerks of the crown 16*s*. 5*d*. over and above: a double of which order is yet extant. As enemies were not wanting to shew malice against them, both in and out of prison, one instance whereof was the drunken gentry and justices of the peace did upon the next 29th of May, 1682, burn the effigies of the earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. Trail; so their friends, whom the Lord stirred up, were not wanting in sending them money and other necessaries during their confinement."

No. XX.

See Chapter XIX. Note 58, page 464.

List of the Presbyterian Ministers in Ireland. March, 1689.

[Wodrow MSS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 6. 12.]

"List of presbyterian ministers in Ireland and come from it, May 20th 1689, presented, at their request, to the general assembly at Edinburgh by Messrs. Osborne, Hamilton, Craighead, Kennedy, Jo. Hamilton, and Leggat, ministers from Ireland.

"Whereas we received advice from the worthy and reverend general meeting of the ministers of Scotland now met at Edinburgh, by divers brethren whom they sent to us, desiring we might give to them a true and just account of all the presbyterian ministers and probationers who walked orderly in the presbyterian way throughout all Ireland, both in such places where they had access to converse with formed classes or presbyteries, and in such places where they had no such access to the established classes through the great distance of place and other difficulties. Also considering the hazard that may come to the church of Scotland by reason of such persons who, for their own ends, may pretend to be presbyterian and orderly ministers of Ireland, but really were not, and so may greatly injure both the church of Scotland in their peace and purity, and the credit and integrity of the church of Ireland; do hereby and herewith give them a true and exact list and schedule of all such ministers and probationers as, to our distinct and certain knowledge, were in a ministerial capacity and orderly in our presbyterian way, at or about the middle of March last: and with humble desire that no other persons be received by the church of Scotland, in our name or as being of our way, but according to the subsequent list, whereunto we do give our testimony with all fidelity and impartiality, under our hands this twentieth day of May at Edinburgh, 1689. Sic subscribitur,

"Alex. Osborne, Arch. Hamilton, Ro. Craighead, Tho. Kennedy, Jo. Hamilton, Wm. Leggatt.

MEETING OF DOWN.

*Arch. Hamilton,	Bangor.
*Pat. Peacock,	Killileagh Cast.
*Hen. Livingston,	Drumbo.
*Mic. Bruce,	Killinchy.
Alex. Hutchinson,	Tannaghnive.
Hugh Wilson,	Knock & Breda.
Jo. Cunningham,	Tullylish.
*Wm. Leggatt,	Dromore.
*John Hunter,	Magherally.
*Jo. Hamilton,	Comber.
*Tho. Cobham,	Kirkdonald.
Alex. Gordon,	Rathfryland.
*Ar. Strayton,	Portaferry.
Tho. Maxwell,	Drumca.
*James Bruce,	Killileagh.
Jo. Gaudie,	Ballie.

Probationers.

*James Ramsay.
*Tho. Kennedy.
*Jo. Hutchinson.

MEETING OF ANTRIM.

*Patrick Adair,	Belfast.
Thomas Hall,	Larne.
Ro. Cunningham,	Braidisland.

Anth. Kennedy,	Templepatrick.
John Frieland,	Upper Killead.
*John Haltridge,	Island Magee.
*Robert Henry,	Carrickfergus.
*Dav. Cunningham,	Connor.
*Matt. Haltridge,	Ahoghill.
*John Campbell,	Cairncastle.
Wm. Adair,	Ballyeaston.
Thos. Futt,	Ballyclare.
*David Airth,	Glenavy.
*Alex. Glass,	Dunmurry.
Fulk White,	Braid.
John Malcome,	Lower Killead.
Fran. Iredell,	Donagore.
*Alex. M^cCracken,	Lisburn.
*James Scott,	Duncan.
*John Wilson,	Drumaul.
*John Munroe,	Carnmoney.
John Darroch,	Glenarm.

Probationers.

*William Steel.
*Patrick Dunlop.

MEETING OF LAGAN.

Adam White,	Ardstraw.
Jo. Hamilton,	Donagheady.
*Ro. Craighead,	Donoughmore.
Ro. Wilson,	Strabane.
*Sam. Haliday,	Omagh.
*Ro. Campbell,	Ray.
John Rowatt,	Lifford.
Wm. Liston,	Letterkenny.
David Brown,	Urney.
*Jas. Alexander,	Raphoe.
*Jas. Gordon,	Glendermot.
*Jo. Douglass,	

Probationers.

*John Harvey.
*Alexander King.
*Andrew Ferguson.

MEETING OF ROUTE.

Wm. Crooks,	Ballykelly.
Tho. Boyd,	Aghadoey.
*Peter Orr,	Clough.
*Rob. Sterling,	Derrykeichan.
Wm. Gilchrist,	Tamlaght.
*Jo. Lawrie,	Macosquin.
*John Wilson,	Dunboe.

Probationer.

*Samuel Stuart.

MEETING OF TYRONE.

*Arch. Hamilton,	Armagh.
*John Abernethy,	Moneymore.
*Thom. Kennedy,	Donoughmore.
*Alex. Osborne,	Dublin.
*Neil Gray,	Augher.
*Hu. Kirkpatrick,	Lurgan.
Geo. Lang,	Drumbanagher.
*John Mitchell,	Tynan.
*Sam. Kelso,	Killisandra.
*Jo. M^c Bride,	Tandragee.
*Ro. Hamilton,	Ballyclug.
Joshua Fisher,	Aghalow.
Ro. Kelso,	Enniskillen.
Jo. M^cKenzie,	Derriloran.
*John Mairs,	Loughbrickland.
*John Carson,	

PRESBYTERIAN AND ORDERLY MINISTERS IN AND ABOUT DUBLIN.

William Keyes,	[Bull-alley, Dublin.]
William Cock,	[Clonmell.]
*Alex. Coldon,	[Enniscorthy?]
Alex. Sinclair,	[Waterford.]
*Pat. Cummin,	
James Smart,	[Ross.]

Probationers.

John Ker.
Hugh Young.

N.B. Of the above-written list, the names of such as we suppose to be in Scotland, are marked with an asterisk. [*]

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